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Mediating Otherness: Discourses and Images of Poverty in
the Paintings of Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617 – 1682)

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others

Abstract of Thesis

The following chapters investigate the significance of visual representations of poverty in the paintings by the Seville painter, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617-1682) and their relationship to discourses on poverty of the period. During an active career spanning more than forty years which was based almost exclusively in Seville, Murillo's paintings of poor people in both religious and genre paintings constitute the widest extant range of representations of the poor in Spanish art of the seventeenth century. By focusing on discourses on poverty of the period, the networks of charitable assistance which existed in Seville and the nature of the image at that time, this study explores the extent to which Murillo's images of the poor express changing perceptions of the poor and poor relief in early modern Spanish culture. Through an examination of Murillo's paintings of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, c. 1665-1670, Wallace Collection, London, *Saint Thomas of Villanueva Distributing Alms*, 1665-1668, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville, *Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary Attending the Sick*, c. 1670, Church of the Hermandad de la Caridad, Seville, and *Three Boys Playing Dice*, c. 1679-1680, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, I have sought to expand upon other scholars' interpretations of Murillo's images to discuss what assumptions are drawn on in these images and what forms of engagement are being encouraged.

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*All illustrations are oil on canvas unless otherwise indicated

Introduction

The representation of poverty was not the aim of visual art in Early Modern Spain. However, depictions of the poor are found in religious paintings as shepherds in nativity scenes, as beggars on the temple steps in scenes from the life of Mary, as recipients of alms from the hands of Counter-Reformation saints, as the lame healed by Christ, as beneficiaries of the Seven Acts of Mercy, as well as street children, prostitutes, water-sellers, cooks, travelling musicians and vagabonds in the relatively small number of genre scenes that were executed during the seventeenth century by Spanish artists. In this thesis, I intend to concentrate on paintings by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (fig. 1), the most important artist at work in Seville in the second half of the seventeenth century, since his paintings include the widest extant range of representations of the poor in Spanish art of the period.

In addition to his 26 genre works which typically feature street children, Murillo also painted impoverished characters in a number of the 380 religious works he produced for both religious institutions and private individuals.¹ They are present in his earliest major commission, which was a series of paintings for the Claustro Chico of the Monastery of San Francisco in Seville (1645-46), and in later works, most notably in his paintings of Saint Thomas of Villanueva for the church of San Agustín in Seville (1665-70) and the Convento de Capuchinos (1665-68) as well as in an important series of paintings promoting charitable works for the church of the Hospital de la Santa Caridad (1668-72).

I shall also focus on Seville, since Murillo is closely identified with the city (fig. 2). He was born there at the close of 1617 and his entire career was based there, unlike Velázquez who was also born in Seville but moved to Madrid as a young man of twenty-four in 1623.² The Seville which Murillo inhabited from his birth to his death in

¹ Enrique Valdivieso, *Murillo: Catálogo Razonado de Pinturas*, (Madrid: Ediciones el Viso), 2010, lists 380 religious paintings by Murillo but only 18 portraits and 26 genre works.

² For the details of Murillo's life, see Diego Angulo Íñiguez, *Murillo. Su vida, su arte, su obra*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpé, 1981). Vol. 1, pp. 3-167, which is the indispensable twentieth-century work on Murillo. See also the more recent catalogue raisonné by Enrique Valdivieso, *Murillo: Catálogo Razonado de Pinturas*, pp. 15-45. The earliest Spanish biography of the painter is by Antonio Palomino in his *Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors*, (1724), trans. Nina Ayala Mallory, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp 280-86. See also Duncan T. Kinkead, *Pintores y Doradores en Seville, 1650 -1699: Documentos*, (Bloomington, Indiana: AuthorHouse, 2006), pp. 355-85, for a recent list of the documents relating to Murillo's life between 1650 and 1682, and Benito Navarrete Prieto and

1682 was the largest, most cosmopolitan city on the Iberian Peninsula and the centre of trade with the New World, though its trading fortunes had begun to wane during this period and finally collapsed in the eighteenth century. At its height in 1588, the population of Seville was approximately 122,000, one of the largest in Europe, but after the disastrous plague of 1649, the level is estimated by the historian Antonio Domínguez Ortiz to have settled at around 85,000.³ Seville was an important administrative centre, the heart of a rich agricultural region, an industrial nucleus and chief port for navigation of the Indies. However, it was eventually usurped by Cádiz when the heavy increase in tonnage of transatlantic vessels, the silting of the Guadalquivir and more favourable customs rates in Cádiz made the inland port of Seville a less attractive option in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁴

During Murillo's working life, Seville was adversely affected by the progressive decrease in silver remittances from the New World and the increasing difficulty in protecting shipping lanes to the Indies.⁵ The American historian Mary E. Perry notes that city chronicles report dearth following successive crop failures in the years 1626, 1642, 1647, 1649-52 and 1677-79 while extensive flooding was recorded in 1603, 1626, 1642 and 1649.⁶ There was plague in the city in 1626 and in 1649, the latter estimated by Domínguez Ortiz to have killed approximately 60,000 people in Seville, roughly half the population of the city.⁷ Following widespread famine in 1651, the poor came close to taking control of the city in a short-lived revolt in 1652 which was sparked by the high price of bread.⁸

Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, dirs, *El Joven Murillo*, (Bilbao: Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao y Sevilla, Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía, 2009), pp. 391-416, for documents relating to Murillo during the years 1617-1656.

³ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *The Golden Age of Spain 1516-1659*, trans. by James Casey, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), pp. 134-5.

⁴ Domínguez Ortiz, *The Golden Age of Spain*, p. 135.

⁵ Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Spain: 1500-1700*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998), p 200.

⁶ See Mary E. Perry, "Fantastic Fandango: State and Underworld in Early Modern Seville", unpublished doctoral dissertation, (University of California, Los Angeles, 1977), p. 411 and p.457, notes 3&4 for a list of citations.

⁷ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, 'Murillo's Seville' in Royal Academy of Arts, *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo: 1617-1682*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), p. 30; see also Mary E. Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), p 161, note 34, which cites the principal manuscript sources dealing with the plague of 1649 in Seville.

⁸ Brown, *Painting in Spain: 1500-1700*, p 200.

However, against this background of declining prosperity in Seville, Murillo achieved great professional success and by the time of his death, he was the most famous Spanish painter outside of his native land, with the exception, perhaps, of Jusepe Ribera who was based in the Vice-Royalty of Naples. Murillo's fame was probably fostered by the extensive trade between Seville and the Low Countries and the community of merchants from that region based in the city. He was the sole Spanish artist included by the German, Joachim von Sandrart, in the Latin edition of his *Leben der berühmten Maler* ("Lives of Famous Painters") published in Nuremberg in 1683.⁹ Although the entry was brief and riddled with errors, it did include an engraved portrait of the artist. In the early eighteenth century, the artist and writer, Antonio Palomino (1655-1726), said of Murillo in his *Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors*, (1724), that "today, outside of Spain, a picture by Murillo is esteemed more than one by Titian or Van Dyck".¹⁰ Although Palomino had not been a friend of Murillo, he noted in his biography that "he knew him and was acquainted with many men who were his friends and used to tell the whole sequence of his fortunes."¹¹

While Murillo's paintings have fallen out of fashion in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, his works were highly esteemed by collectors in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, so much so that in 1779, the conde de Floridablanca, who was the minister of Carlos III, ordered that the export of Murillo's works from Seville should be banned.¹² In England, Murillo's paintings influenced artists such as Gainsborough and Reynolds, and as a result of the popularity of his work during that period, in London alone, there are now many fine examples in the National Gallery, the Dulwich Picture Gallery, the Wallace Collection and Aspley House.¹³

In chapter 1, I shall briefly outline Murillo's life and work to illuminate the context within which his paintings of poor people are situated. The role of the poor within Murillo's work and its relation to the discourses of poverty has been, with a few notable

⁹ Joachim von Sandrart, *Academia nobilissimae artis pictoriae*, (Nuremberg, 1683), pp. 329, 373-74. See also Angulo, *Murillo*, pp. 211-13.

¹⁰ Palomino, *Lives*, p. 281.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Angulo, *Murillo*, p. 219.

¹³ In Reynold's Discourse pronounced on the death of Gainsborough in 1788, he referred to Murillo as a source for Gainsborough's "fancy pictures" or paintings of poor children: see Ellis Waterhouse, "Gainsborough's 'Fancy Pictures'", *Burlington Magazine* 88, (June 1946), pp. 134-40. See also Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617-1682) Paintings from American Collections*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2002), pp. 197-8, note 1, for a long list of publications dealing with the English taste for Spanish paintings.

exceptions, an understudied subject by art historians. As far as I am aware, there have been no attempts to give a complete overview of the subject, though historians, social scientists and literature scholars have all considered in detail the issue of poverty in seventeenth-century Europe. A handful of outstanding art historians have analysed aspects of the topic, devoting chapters or articles to it, and, in the second part of chapter 1 of my thesis, I shall review recent art historical literature on the subject, assessing these approaches critically within the context of seventeenth century poverty in Seville and discourses of poverty in religious writings, reformist treatises and official documents of the period.

The aim of my research is to consider to what extent, if at all, Murillo's images of the poor articulate changing perceptions of the poor and poor relief in early modern Spanish culture. The questions to be addressed include to what extent the poor are represented as meaningful figures in Murillo's paintings; what forms of engagement are being encouraged in the images; whether the paintings reiterate or challenge the suffering of the poor in seventeenth century Seville; what traditions, assumptions and discourses are drawn on in these images; and finally, to what extent the paintings transform the poor into metaphoric symbols of passive, anonymous outsiders, thus rendering the suffering of the poor irrelevant as it is exposed?

In chapter 2, I shall discuss a selection of sixteenth and seventeenth-century writings on poverty to explore the concepts which underpinned attitudes towards poverty and the poor during the period in which Murillo was working in Seville and which might have helped to shape the paintings which will be analysed in chapters 5, 6 and 7 of this thesis. Although the list of texts is, of course, very far from exhaustive, I have chosen writings which represent varied approaches to the subject, as well as a range of different types of material. I have refrained from examining literary sources in detail here, since the relationship between painting and discourses of poverty in poetry, theatre and literature is large enough to warrant a separate thesis, though, where appropriate, I have cited examples in later discussions. To complement well-known sources like the sixteenth-century debates on poverty and its relief, I shall also explore a selection of less well-known writings generated in Seville itself, the treatise *Memoriales y Discursos* (1650-60) by Francisco Martínez de Mata, a record of missionary work in Andalucía by the

Jesuit, Padre de León, Seville sermons and a profession of faith by Don Miguel Mañara, so that I can bring a fresh perspective to this issue by focusing on local sources.¹⁴

We can only begin to answer questions about poverty in relation to Murillo's paintings of the subject when we have an idea about what poverty was like in seventeenth-century Seville and who the poor were. In chapter 3, I have drawn on previous archival research by historians of the subject, particularly that of Juan Ignacio Carmona García and Mary Elizabeth Perry, as well as contemporary Seville chronicles of the period, so as to provide an overview of who the poor were, how they were treated and what means were available to alleviate their situation. The most informative of the chronicles are the *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble, y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla, metrópoli de la Andalucía*, a work about the events in Seville from 1246 to 1671 by the Seville historian, Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga (1633-1680), and the 1641 anonymous *Memorias de Sevilla*, edited by Francisco Morales Padrón, which contains several of the most vivid accounts.¹⁵ The aim is to produce a profile of the poor against which it is possible to examine in a later chapter the visual images of the poor in receipt of charity produced by Murillo.

Before embarking on an analysis of selected paintings of the poor by Murillo in my final three chapters, in chapter 4 I shall discuss the nature of the image in seventeenth-century Seville to contextualise the production of Murillo's paintings in the era of Post-Tridentine Spain and to examine the diverse nature of those who commissioned and collected his work. Drawing on the work of previous art historians, I shall consider what type of paintings were made and collected as well as how contemporary theoreticians viewed painting, dealing in particular with the views of the painter and scholar, Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644), whose *Arte de la Pintura*, one of the most important Spanish treatises on art, was published posthumously by Simon Fajardo in Seville in 1649.¹⁶

¹⁴ Francisco Martínez de Mata, *Memoriales y discursos*, ed. by Gonzalo Anes, (Madrid: Editorial Moneda y Crédito, 1971).

¹⁵ Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla.... 1246-1671*, [1677], *ilustrados y corregidos por D. Antonio María Espinosa Y Carzel*, 5 vols., (Madrid: La Imprenta Real, 1796); Francisco Morales Padrón, ed., *Memorias de Sevilla (1600-1678)*, (Córdoba: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad Y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1981).

¹⁶ Francisco Pacheco, *L'Art de la peinture*, trans. L. Fallay d'Este, (Paris : Klincksieck, 1986).

Finally, in chapters 5, 6 and 7, I analyse the way in which the poor are represented in three different types of images which will form the core of my thesis. In chapter 5, I offer an analysis of Murillo's painting of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, c.1665-70, Wallace Collection, London (fig. 3), and will show how Murillo has provided an image not only of the wonders of the birth of Christ as witnessed by the shepherds but a representation of the positive role of the working poor, a view prevalent in the discourses of the period as the solution to the problem of poverty.

Chapter 6 explores the nature of charity in seventeenth-century Seville and features two religious paintings of saints performing works of mercy, executed by Murillo at the height of his career. These provide different examples of how the destitute are being shown as legitimate members of Sevillian society on which they are dependent for assistance through the practice of charity by the rich and powerful. Using sermons of the period and religious writings, I shall explore how Murillo's *Saint Thomas of Villanueva distributing Alms*, 1665-1668, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville (fig. 4), and *Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, Attending the Sick*, c. 1670, Church of the Hermandad de la Caridad in Seville (fig. 5), function as archetypal paintings of charitable works and how the poor have been conceived and narrated in these paintings.

Lastly, in chapter 7, I shall examine the painting, *Three Boys Playing Dice*, c. 1670-1680, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (fig. 6), one of the most famous of the artist's so-called "beggar-boy" paintings which show ragged children living in the streets along the city walls and a compositional type unique to Murillo. I would argue that these images cannot easily be accommodated within the traditional discourse of art treatises of the period, or of concepts of deserving and undeserving poor found in reformist treatises on poverty, but are rather a synthesis of fact and invention whose primary function was to give aesthetic pleasure to the viewer and knowledgeable collector, who was most probably from Northern Europe. These paintings bring into focus the everyday world of people and things traditionally ignored, forcing the painter and the viewer to pay close attention to the familiar which normally eludes attention.

The conclusion looks in brief at the various ways in which the depiction of the poor in Murillo's religious output reinforces contemporary perceptions of poverty, while his genre paintings articulate a more ambiguous approach to the subject.

Chapter 1

1.1 Murillo's life and works

Baptised in the church of the Magdalena on January 1, 1618, Murillo was the son of a barber-surgeon, Gaspar Esteban, and the youngest of fourteen siblings.¹ His mother, María Pérez, was the sister of Antón Pérez, a painter of statues, whose wife was the daughter of the Sevillian artist Vasco de Pereira. Murillo adopted the surname of his maternal grandmother, Elvira Murillo, and rarely used his father's name.² Orphaned in 1628 at the age of ten after the death of his father in 1627 and his mother a few months later in 1628, he was raised by his older sister, Ana, and her husband, Juan Agustín Lagares, who was also a barber-surgeon. There is sparse documentary information about Murillo's early career. However, as noted by Antonio Palomino in the earliest Spanish biography of the artist which was published in 1724, it is generally agreed that the artist enrolled as an apprentice in the studio of the Seville painter, Juan del Castillo (c.1590-1657), a workmanlike artist who was related to Murillo on his mother's side and whose influence is evident in Murillo's earliest known paintings.³ No apprenticeship contract has survived, so estimates for the dates of this apprenticeship vary between 1630 and 1636. At the age of fifteen, Murillo is recorded as preparing to undertake a journey in 1633 to the New World where some of his relatives had already emigrated, but there is no documentary evidence that he made the journey and Palomino is most insistent that the artist travelled neither to the Americas, nor to Italy:

And although some foreign authors (like Joachim von Sandrart and an Italian) have said that he went to the Indies as a youth and then to Italy, they were badly informed, for I have investigated this point with great diligence from very old

¹ See Angulo, *Murillo*, vol. 1, pp.161-7 for transcriptions of Murillo's baptismal and burial notices, his will and the inventory of his goods taken after his death in 1682.

See also Duncan T. Kinkead, *Pintores y Doradores en Seville, 1650 -1699: Documentos*, (Bloomington, Indiana: AuthorHouse, 2006), pp. 380-385 for a copy of the list of his goods auctioned after his death.

² See Angulo, *Murillo*, vol. 1, figs. 14-20, for examples of Murillo's signature in a range of documents dated between 1646 and 1680.

³ Palomino, *Lives*, p. 280. On the relationship between Murillo and Juan del Castilla, see Enrique Valdivieso, "Juan del Castillo, maestro de Murillo" in Benito Navarrete Prieto y Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, dirs, *El Joven Murillo*, (Bilbao: Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao y Sevilla, Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía, 2009), pp. 47-65.

and totally trustworthy men who knew him intimately, and there was no such thing.⁴

There are a handful of religious paintings ascribed to Murillo between 1638 and 1640, such as the two versions of *Saint Dominic Receiving the Rosary from the Virgin Mary* (figs. 7 and 8), one in the Archbishop's Palace in Seville which is signed as being by Murillo, the other smaller version in a private collection in Madrid, which both emulate the style of Juan del Castillo. Palomino claimed that Murillo visited Madrid before 1645 where he could see and copy many paintings:

with the protection of his compatriot Velázquez (then Painter to the Bedchamber), he saw many times the eminent paintings in the Palace, in El Escorial, and in other royal seats and gentlemen's palaces and copied many from Titian, Rubens, and Van Dyck, so that he greatly improved the quality of his colouring – without neglecting to draw from the statues and at the academies of this Court – but particularly by seeing the beautiful and grand manner of Velázquez, contact with whom was very profitable to him.⁵

This claim was taken up later by the scholar, Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez (1749-1829), but is not generally accepted by recent art historians, though Benito Navarrete Prieto has made a persuasive case for its veracity in the 2009 catalogue for the exhibition, *El Joven Murillo*.⁶

Murillo's breakthrough came with an important commission for a series of eleven large canvases which he painted for the small cloister of the monastery church of San Francisco between 1645 and 1646. Dispersed during the Napoleonic Invasion in 1810, the paintings are now scattered in European and American collections. The series, painted with an earthy naturalism inspired by the Sevillian works of Diego Velázquez (1599-1660) and Francisco de Zurbarán (1598-1664), relates inspirational episodes from the lives of Franciscan saints. The large format painting, *The Angels' Kitchen*, 1646, Louvre, Paris (fig. 9), is one of Murillo's rare signed and dated paintings but no contract survives for the commission and the monastery was demolished in 1841. Palomino, who would have seen the paintings *in situ*, noted the stylistic difference between the series and Murillo's later work in his *Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters*

⁴ Palomino, *Lives*, p. 281, see also Angulo, *Murillo*, vol. 1, pp. 20-4. Murillo's son Gaspar emigrated to South America in 1678.

⁵ Palomino, *Lives*, p. 280.

⁶ Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*, 6 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Ibarra, 1800), vol. 2, p. 50; Navarrete Prieto, *El Joven Murillo*, p.452. See also Nina Ayala Mallory, *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo*, trans. María Luisa Balseiro, (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1983), p. 27.

and Sculptors, (1724): “He then painted the celebrated Cloister of the Convent of San Francisco which is next to the entrance hall, in which one can observe a strength in the chiaroscuro so different from what he did later that if it were not so well known that it was his, hardly anyone would recognize it as such.”⁷

As the French art historian and curator, Odile Delenda, has recently suggested, the iconographic programme of the series celebrated the sincerity and sanctity of St Francis and his companions, Juniper and Giles, Saint Clare, and distinguished Spanish Observants (Saint Diego of Alcalá, Saint Salvador of Horta, Saint Francis Solano and Brother Julian of Alcalá).⁸ In choosing beatified figures and saints of the Franciscan Observants renowned for their virtuous observance of the Franciscan ideals of poverty, obedience and charity, the monks of San Francisco were proclaiming their sincere intention to adapt those ideals to their own era, while also exalting the greatness of their branch of the Franciscan Order. Amongst this cycle of notable Franciscan figures are Murillo’s earliest paintings of saints assisting the poor, namely *Saint Diego of Alcalá Feeding the Poor*, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid (fig. 10), *Brother Juniper and the Poor Man*, Louvre, Paris, which features Brother Juniper, renowned for his compassion for the poor, encouraging an impoverished, semi-naked man to take his clothes (fig. 11), and a third painting, *St Salvador of Horta and the Inquisitor of Aragón*, Musée Bonnat, Bayona, which shows this saint, canonized in 1938, who was famous for his miraculous healing powers, surrounded by sick and disabled poor people, kneeling before the Inquisitor sent to investigate him (fig. 12).

The historian Antonio Ponz, singled out the painting of Saint Diego of Alcalá for particular praise in a work published in 1780: “the one that represents Saint Diego of Alcalá Feeding the Poor is worthy of pilgrimage. Indescribable is the naturalness noticeable in everything, how well grouped the figures are [...] all of it delights by how well executed it is, and by its preservation.”⁹ Saint Diego of Alcalá, who was canonized in 1588, is shown in the act of blessing the food in a large cooking pot prior to

⁷ Palomino, *Lives*, p.281.

⁸ See Odile Delenda “The Claustro Chico of the Casa Grande Monastery of San Francisco” in Navarrette Prieto, *El Joven Murillo*, p. 526.

⁹ Antonio Ponz, *Viaje de España, en que se da noticia de las cosas apreciables y dignas de saberse que hay en ella*, (Madrid : Aguilar, 1947), vol. IX, third letter, no. 32, pp. 96-7, trans. in Navarrette Prieto, *El Joven Murillo*, p.467.

distributing it to the many poor men, women and children assembled around him, thus attending to their spiritual wellbeing and bringing them into the Catholic fold, in advance of taking care of their physical welfare. The inscription at the bottom of the painting describes the subject as an act of charity in praise of God, spiritually nourishing both giver and recipient:

Da de comer al Pobre y el provecho, / Recive Diego de que el Pobre coma, / El Pobre come y Diego satisfecho, / El dar las Gracias por su quenta toma, / Mira en el Pobre a Dios y de su pecho, / Caridad todo a Dios le ofrece Aroma, / l a un tiempo exercitando vida activa / El Santo goza la Corona dichosa.

In chapter 6, I shall discuss Murillo's paintings of saints performing acts of mercy and the ways in which the poor are construed in these works, with particular reference to *Saint Thomas of Villanueva distributing Alms* which was painted for the Church of the Capuchins in Seville between 1665 and 1668, and *Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, Attending the Sick*, painted for the Church of the Hermandad de la Caridad in Seville around 1670 (figs. 4 and 5).

In 1644, Murillo became a member of the Brotherhood of the Virgin of the Rosary and, in 1645, married Beatriz Cabrera y Villalobos, who died in 1663. In the next year, the first of his eleven children was baptised and in the same year, he is documented as renting out a property on the plaza San Pablo, one of the ways in which artists supplemented their income between commissions.¹⁰ In 1648, he moved from the parish of la Magdalena to San Isidore and, thereafter, the family frequently moved house during his life. Also in this period, Murillo painted the earliest of his extant genre paintings featuring street children, *Urchin Hunting Fleas*, c. 1645-1650, Louvre, Paris, a painting of a solitary boy seated on the ground in a sparsely furnished room searching his body for fleas or lice (fig. 13), and *Two Boys Eating Melon and Grapes*, c. 1650, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, where the boys are seated in an exterior setting more typical of Murillo's later genre paintings (fig. 14). There are no surviving documents to indicate when and for whom any of his genre paintings were produced, so dates can only be estimated on stylistic grounds. As Peter Cherry notes, *Urchin Hunting Fleas* is stylistically reminiscent of Velázquez's Sevillian works, as can be seen in "its concrete, descriptive style, impasted paint surfaces and sober, tenebrist palette which was to be succeeded in Murillo's work by a more fluid, atmospheric painting style."¹¹ However,

¹⁰ Angulo, *Murillo*, vol. 1, p. 148.

¹¹ Xanthe Brooke and Peter Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, (London: Merrell, 200), p. 18.

as in his later genre paintings, Murillo has pared down the presence of scene-setting, still-life details to highlight the figures in both paintings. In chapter 7, I shall examine this aspect of his output and their relationship to discourses on poverty of the period.

From 1649 to 1650, Seville was beset by a calamitous plague which killed about half of the population, adversely affected cultural and artistic life there, and caused religious institutions to devote their resources to fulfilling charitable needs. Two years later, there was a short-lived uprising of textile workers following famine in 1651. Murillo, however, continued to build his career during this period and received a succession of religious commissions, although his major large-scale commissions were mainly executed in the 1660s. During the 1650s, Murillo created popular images for the faithful, such as his *Holy Family with a Little Bird*, c. 1650, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (fig. 15), which transformed this subject matter into a comforting, intimate domestic scene, entirely devoid of angels or miraculous light, and many versions of the Virgin and Child, painted with delicate gracefulness and tenderness, a stylistic feature of his later works. I shall return to the subject of Murillo's paintings of the Holy Family in chapter 5, along with that of *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, c. 1665-1670, Wallace Collection London (fig.3), a subject which Murillo painted at least six times. The earliest two versions date from sometime around 1650, one of which is now in the Hermitage, St Petersburg, and the other in the Prado in Madrid. Also in the early 1650s was the first of his famous interpretations of the Immaculate Conception in which the Virgin is a beautiful young girl dressed in a white robe with a blue cape fluttering in the wind, flying above the clouds on an upturned moon, surrounded by putti. This imagery was popular in Seville which staunchly supported the disputed doctrine that the Virgin Mary was herself conceived without stain of original sin.

In 1655, Murillo received his first commission for the cathedral, for two paintings of the Seville saints, Isidore and Leander to be placed high up in the sacristy (figs. 16 and 17), which Don Juan Federigui, archdeacon of Carmona and cannon of the cathedral, proclaimed would be "by the hand of the best painter in Seville".¹² Writing in 1671, the priest and poet Fernando de la Torre Farfán (1609-1677), noted that these were elegant paintings by Murillo, who was not sufficiently praised in his own country, though he

¹² Angulo, *Murillo*, p. 290.

was well known in Europe.¹³ In the following year, Murillo painted the seminal *Vision of St Anthony of Padua (in situ)* (fig. 18), an enormous canvas (560 x 375cm) for the baptismal chapel of the cathedral, in which the Christ Child appears to the saint surrounded by a host of angels in a soft golden light, a masterpiece of epiphany which was, according to the art historian Jonathan Brown, Murillo's "first essay in the high Baroque style" and an immediate success.¹⁴ Torre Farfán said of this painting that it was by "our Sevillian Apeles" and Palomino later reproduced Torre Farfán's observation that to one side of the painting there is "a desk placed with such art that there are those who testify to having seen a bird labouring to sit on it so as to peck at the white lilies there are in a vase".¹⁵

Murillo is documented as being in Madrid in 1658 for a fairly short period, where he would have been able to study the European masterpieces in the royal and aristocratic collections.¹⁶ This visit undoubtedly influenced his subsequent works, which are characterised by fluid brushwork and luminous *sfumato*, already present to some extent in the monumental *Vision of St Anthony of Padua*, which Ceán Bermúdez astutely described as being marked by the "skilful indecision with which the contours are lost".¹⁷ However, as discussed later in chapter 4 of this thesis, Murillo's patrons in Seville also owned considerable collections of European art which may well have contributed to the evolution of his style. Another factor which proved influential in the development of Murillo's mature work was the new dynamic compositional style, rich colours and free brushwork of Francisco de Herrera the Younger (1627-1685) who was working in Seville from 1655 to 1660, particularly the paintings *Allegory of the Eucharist and the Immaculate Conception*, 1655, for the Hermandad Sacramental del Sagrario of Seville and *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, 1657, for the cathedral (figs 19 and 20). The signs of this change in Murillo's work can be seen clearly in the canvas he painted in 1660 for the chapel of the Immaculate Conception in the cathedral, *Birth of the Virgin*, Louvre, Paris (fig. 21). As Palomino wrote, "Murillo took to sweetening more his colour and

¹³ Fernando de la Torre Farfán, *Fiestas de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana y patriarcal de Sevilla, al nuevo culto del señor Rey S. Fernando el tercero de Castilla y de León*, [Sevilla, 1671], facsimile edition, (Seville: Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Técnicos de Sevilla, 1995), p.191.

¹⁴ Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Spain: 1500-1700*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 204-5.

¹⁵ Torre Farfán, *Fiestas*, pp. 164-5; Palomino, *Lives*, p.282.

¹⁶ Angulo, *Murillo*, pp. 45-6.

¹⁷ Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario*, vol. 2, p. 52.

softening his shadows, but with such wonderful taste that no one – neither native nor foreigner – has surpassed him in this”.¹⁸

In addition to commissions for religious subjects and portraits which Murillo worked on in the 1650s, there are a number of genre works which scholars estimate were produced by Murillo in the 1650s. They are the naturalistic paintings *Old Woman with a Rooster and Basket of Eggs*, c. 1650, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (fig. 22), and *Old Woman with a Distaff*, c. 1655-1660, The Hoare Collection, Stourhead (fig. 23); *Peasant Girl with Basket of Fruit and Flowers*, c. 1655-1660, The State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (fig. 24); *Urchin with a Dog and Basket*, c. 1655-1660, Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg (fig. 25); the relatively large painting, *Two Women at a Window*, c. 1655-1660, National Gallery of Art, Washington (fig. 26), which probably features two attractive prostitutes, and a painting of similar size; *Family Group*, c. 1655-1660, Kimball Art Museum, Fort Worth (fig. 27), whose reputed erotic content is much disputed by art historians as discussed later in this chapter. Finally, two small head-and-shoulders paintings also date from this period, *A Young Man Drinking*, c. 1655-1660, The National Gallery, London, and *Laughing Boy*, c. 1660, private collection, Madrid (figs 28 and 29).

In the 1660s, Murillo increased his engagement with institutions involved in assisting the poor by becoming a member of the Franciscan Third Order in 1662, and, in 1665, he finally succeeded in joining the important *Hermandad de la Caridad* which was dedicated to the practical care of the destitute.¹⁹ The Confraternity’s record books document annual distributions of bread amongst the poor of his parish by Murillo from 1673 onwards.²⁰ The early 1660s were also marked for Murillo by his involvement in the newly established Seville drawing academy, becoming in 1660, the institution’s first co-president alongside Francisco de Herrera the Younger.²¹ This was essentially a drawing academy for an elite body of Seville artists whose aim was to draw from nude models “for the study and benefit” of their art, as I discuss in chapter 4.

¹⁸ Palomino, *Lives*, p.281.

¹⁹ Kinkead, *Pintores y Doradores*, pp. 365 and 367.

²⁰ Kinkead, *Pintores y Doradores*, pp. 371-375. Murillo is also recorded begging for alms on behalf of the Confraternity, usually at the gates of the Cathedral, from 1667 onwards.

²¹ See Antonio García Baeza, *Entre el obrador y la academia: La enseñanza de las artes en Sevilla durante la segunda mitad del Seiscientos*, (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2014), pp. 207-210 for a copy of the founding document of the academy, including the election of the co-presidents.

In 1660, Murillo painted a series of six canvases for an unknown commissioner illustrating the themes of sin, repentance and forgiveness in the Biblical parable of the Prodigal Son which includes a scene of the Prodigal Son as a destitute youth praying to God, while reduced to taking care of swine outside a ruined building, now in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (fig. 30). This is derived from a series of ten etchings by the artist Jacques Callot (1592/3-1635), an example of the importance of prints in the work of Murillo, which is discussed in chapter 4. The 1660s were also notable for Murillo for a succession of major religious commissions. In 1662, he started work on a series of large-scale paintings, including two narrative paintings of the founding of the Roman church of Santa Maria Maggiore, for the newly refurbished church of Santa María la Blanca. In the *Dream of the Patrician and his Wife* (fig. 31), Murillo seamlessly combines the sacred and the profane, balancing the naturalism of the patrician's bedroom with the celestial vision of the Virgin and Child. The completion was celebrated in 1665 by festivities and a temporary display of paintings by Murillo and some of the most celebrated artists of the sixteenth- and seventeenth- centuries, such as Peter Paul Rubens, Jusepe de Ribera, Titian, Rembrandt and Artemisia Gentileschi, which is discussed at greater length in my chapter 4 on the nature of the image in Seville.²² Amongst Murillo's canvases on display were a series of paintings of the life of Jacob produced for the marqués de Villamanrique which serve to illustrate Murillo's skill as a landscape painter, as, for example in the rural setting of *Jacob Laying the Peeled Rods before the Flocks of Laban*, c. 1660, Meadows Museum, Dallas (fig. 32), which was one of four scenes set in mountainous countryside. As Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt noted of this series, the style of these landscapes depends on northern landscape paintings by Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651) or Joos de Momper (1564-1635), which were influenced in turn by those of earlier artists such as Joachim Patinir (?1480-1524). Both the geology and flora of Murillo's paintings were borrowed from

²² For the most recent studies of the church, see the informative catalogue which accompanied the 2012 exhibition of Murillo's works for the church of Santa María Blanca: Gabriele Finaldi, ed., *Murillo & Justino de Neve. The Art of Friendship*, (Madrid/Seville/London: Museo Nacional del Prado, Fundación Focus-Abengoa & Dulwich Picture Gallery, 2012); and Amanda Wunder's recent book on Baroque Seville which includes a chapter on the sociohistorical and urban context of the renovation of the church: Amanda Wunder, *Baroque Seville: Sacred Art in a Century of Crisis*, (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), pp. 45-72.

works by northern landscape painters as opposed to the scenery of Andalusia or classical landscapes in the Italian manner.²³

In 1665, the church of the Capuchins in Seville commissioned Murillo to paint ten paintings for the main altar of the church and eight for individual side altars which are notable for their beauty and the singularity of their composition.²⁴ Of these, Palomino wrote:

No smaller is the testimony of his superior skill given by the silent panegyrics of the sixteen canvases in the Capuchin church of the said city. All of them are very large and truly very great canvases, but especially one of them – which he called “his canvas” – which depicts Saint Tomas of Villanueva giving alms to the poor, where there is one receiving them, with his back to us, who seems real. In the high altar he has the Jubilee of the Portiuncula, more than six yards high, in which the glory really seems to be there. It shows Jesus Christ with the Cross looking at his Blessed Mother to his right as she intercedes for the greatest good of mortals and angels of such diversity and beauty that when the painters saw it, they said that until then they had not known what a painting was, nor how to give such distance to a picture.²⁵

As observed by Palomino, the huge main altarpiece had as its centrepiece *Saint Francis at the Portiuncula*, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, which measured 430 x 295 cm (fig. 33). It is reminiscent of Murillo’s earlier composition for the cathedral, *Vision of Saint Anthony*, and is surrounded by works conceived in pairs. These feature the Seville patron saints, *Saints Justa and Rufina* (fig. 34), various Franciscan saints, and aspects of Christ’s life. Also, as noted by Palomino, in one of the side altars, there is the painting of the Augustinian saint, *Thomas of Villanueva distributing Alms*, 1665-68, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville (fig.4), who is represented not as one of the learned fathers of the church but as an apostle of Charity, the subject of chapter 6 in this thesis. In another of the side altars is a version of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville (fig. 34), which feature in chapter 5.

Between 1664 and 1670, Murillo painted a series of canvases for the church of San Agustín in Seville, including four paintings of Saint Augustine, and an altarpiece for the

²³ Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo*, p. 140. See also Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Spain: 1500-1700*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 214, who writes that Murillo used de Momper motifs for the steep rocky formations and theatrical use of trees in *Jacob Laying Peeled Rods before the Flock of Laban*.

²⁴ This is discussed at length in Angulo, *Murillo*, vol. 1, pp. 351-75; see also the more recent entry in Valdivieso, *Murillo*, pp.133-147.

²⁵ Palomino, *Lives*, pp. 282-3.

recently canonized Saint Thomas of Villanueva which consists of four paintings.²⁶ These once again highlight the saint as an apostle of Charity: the two larger paintings are the striking canvas of *Saint Thomas of Villanueva as a Child Dividing His Clothes among Beggar Boys*, Cincinnati Art Museum (fig. 36), based on an early legend from his life, and *Saint Thomas of Villanueva Healing a Lame Man*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (fig. 37), while the smaller pair are *Saint Thomas of Villanueva Giving Alms to the Poor*, The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, California (fig. 38), and *Saint Thomas of Villanueva Receiving the News of His Death*, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville (fig. 39).

Murillo's last great commission of the 1660s was for the new church of the Brotherhood of the Santa Caridad which he worked on between the years 1667 and 1672 and which promoted the idea of practical works of charity.²⁷ The Brotherhood, energised by the arrival of Miguel Mañara in 1662, expanded its activities from an organisation devoted to burying the dead to one of caring for the living, which entailed building an enlarged church and a hospital. Murillo was commissioned to contribute paintings of six of the seven acts of mercy to the iconographical programme for the decoration of this church as well as two paintings for side altars depicting the good works of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary and Saint John of God, which are discussed in chapter 6.

Murillo produced very few genre paintings during the 1660s, probably due to the large number of major commissions he was fulfilling in this period. The majority of his famous genre works are estimated by Enrique Valdivieso to belong to the 1670s, including the beautiful allegories of spring and summer (figs. 40 and 41), the former to be found today in the Dulwich Picture Gallery alongside Murillo's *Two Boys and a Negro Boy*, c. 1670 (fig. 42), and also his *Invitation to a Game of Argolla*, c. 1670-1680 (fig. 43), while the allegory of summer is in the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh. Also from this period are three paintings now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich: *Three Boys Playing Dice* (fig. 6), which is the subject of Chapter 7, *Two Boys Eating a Tart*, c. 1665-1675, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (fig. 44), and the picture generally thought to be his last genre painting, *The Young Fruitsellers*, c. 1670-1680 (fig.45).

²⁶ Angulo, *Murillo*, vol. 1, pp.316-9.

²⁷ Angulo, *Murillo*, pp. 377-406.

Justino de Neve (1625-1685), a wealthy canon of the cathedral who was of Flemish origin, was one of Murillo's greatest patrons. He was involved in commissioning Murillo's celebrated series of paintings for the church of Santa María la Blanca and the artist's series of nine paintings for the chapter house of the cathedral. Justino was also instrumental in the establishment of the Hospital de los Venerables Sacerdotes to take care of poor and elderly priests in 1675 for which Murillo was commissioned to paint the *Virgin and Christ Child Giving Bread to Pilgrims*, 1679, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, for the refectory of the new hospital, which is an exhortation to almsgiving (fig. 46). Also installed in the hospital was Murillo's much-admired painting, the *Immaculate Conception of the Venerables Sacerdotes*, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (fig. 47), which was purchased by the Brotherhood of the Venerables Sacerdotes from the estate of Justino de Neve in 1686.²⁸ Justino also bequeathed to the church Murillo's painting, *The Penitent Saint Peter*, c. 1675, private collection, and the fine portrait now in the National Gallery, London, that Murillo made of him seated at his desk in front of an architectural setting leading out to a landscape painted in 1665 (figs. 48 and 49). Palomino wrote of this painting that it is testimony to Murillo's skill as an eminent portrait painter and that it is:

outstanding for the likeness and for how well it is painted. But best of all is the little English bitch that he has by his side, which other dogs usually bark at and which looks as if she would like to charge at them, so that one is surprised when she does not bark back, so lifelike does she seem.²⁹

This portrait forms part of Murillo's relatively small output of portraits which were painted throughout his career, including those of his patrons, such as the Flemish-style oval portrait of the merchant Nicolás de Omazur, 1672, Prado, Madrid (fig. 50), a format he also used for his late self-portrait, probably painted around 1668-1670, National Gallery, London, and an earlier self-portrait dating from c. 1650-1655, private collection, New York (figs. 1 and 51).

In 1681, Murillo received his final grand commission for the main altar of the church of the Capuchins in Cádiz, but at an early stage, he fell from the scaffolding while working

²⁸ See the catalogue entry for the painting in Finaldi, *Murillo & Justino de Neve*, no. 7, pp. 114-7, for a discussion of the dating of the painting which was originally assumed by scholars to be 1676 but may in fact be earlier than this.

²⁹ Palomino, *Lives*, p. 283.

on the central canvas of Saint Catherine and died a few months later in 1682 at the age of sixty-four. Palomino's assessment of Murillo is:

Finally, our Murillo was favoured by Heaven not only in the eminence of his ability but also in his natural endowments; he had a good figure and an amiable disposition and was humble and modest so that he did not disdain to accept correction from anyone.³⁰

Having briefly outlined Murillo's life to provide an overview of the production within which his paintings of poor people are situated, I shall examine how contemporary scholarship has covered the relationship between Murillo's representation of poor people and poverty in seventeenth-century Seville, an aspect of Murillo's work that has not been given a great deal of attention as noted in the introduction.

1.2 Murillo and Poverty: a review of contemporary scholarship

The genesis of this thesis lies with the paintings by Murillo and Juan de Valdés Leal (1622-1690) which adorned the church of the Hermandad de la Caridad in Seville and which led me to Jonathan Brown's collection of essays published in 1978, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, a work designed to "heighten awareness of the diversity and variety of Spanish Baroque painting, especially as a vehicle for the expression of prevailing ideas and beliefs".³¹ It included a perceptive essay analysing the decoration of the Church of the Hermandad de la Caridad in Seville as a supreme example of a coherent iconographic programme intended to inspire the members of the Sevillian Brotherhood of Charity to perform charitable works, which has become the starting point for anyone writing about this subject. However, while researching those paintings of acts of charity by Murillo and the paintings of death by Juan de Valdés Leal for my M.A., I found that there was very little recent writing about Murillo's images of poverty, with a handful of notable exceptions. The most noteworthy of these are Peter Cherry and Xanthe Brookes's admirable discussion of Murillo's paintings of street children in 2001 and Cherry's 2004 article on the life of the poor and Spanish naturalism, Benito Navarrete Prieto's examination of the formation of

³⁰ Palomino, *Lives*, p. 283.

³¹ Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 147.

Murillo's artistic personality and his awareness of social justice in 2009 which draws on Bartolomé Yun Casalilla's chapter on work and family in Murillo's paintings in 2008, and an analysis by Arsenio Moreno Mendoza of Murillo's output as the sanctification of poverty in his article of 2004.³²

As Jonathan Brown noted in the introductory chapter to his book, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, until recently Spanish art historiography tended to focus largely on meticulous catalogues and books dealing with the life and works of individual artists and with the collections of the Catholic monarchs.³³ Marianne Haraszti-Takács' 1983 study of genre painting in Spain during the seventeenth century is one of the exceptions which examines a large selection of secular genre paintings by Spanish artists.³⁴ However, she is concerned primarily with tracing their relationship to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century antecedents in the southern part of the Netherlands and to the works of painters of northern and central Italy. The study offers little illumination on Murillo's religious works and his portraits of Seville street children are dismissed as naive, romantic and flakily sentimental, a view which I shall examine in chapter 7 of this thesis.

1.2a. Catalogues Raisonnés

The key study of Murillo's work is the authoritative three-volume biography and catalogue raisonné produced in 1981 by the distinguished art historian, Diego Angulo Íñiguez which has not been surpassed. There is also the more recent, superbly illustrated, catalogue raisonné of Murillo's work by Enrique Valdivieso published thirty years later in 2010, which updates Angulo's study by taking into account better access

³² Xanthe Brooke and Peter Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, (London: Merrell, 2001); ; Peter Cherry, "La dura realidad de la vida pobres, marginados y el naturalismo español", in Bonaventura Bassegoda *et al*, *Los pintores de lo real*, (Madrid: Fundación Amigos del Museo del Prado, 2008), pp.157-180; Benito Navarrete Prieto and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, dirección científica, *El Joven Murillo*, (Bilbao: Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao y Sevilla, Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía, 2009), pp. 17-43 with English text, pp. 451-460; Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, "Imagen e ideología en la Europa del siglo XVII. Trabajo y familia en Murillo y Martínez de Mata" in *La historia imaginada: Construcciones visuales del pasado en la Edad Moderna*; coord. by Joan Lluís Palos and Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2008), pp. 235-264; Arsenio Moreno Mendoza, "Murillo, 'La Santificación de la Pobreza'", *Pandora revue d'Études hispaniques*, 4, (2004), pp. 19-34.

³³ Brown, *Images and Ideas*, p. 14; his introductory chapter provides a succinct summary of the historiography of seventeenth-century Spanish painting up to 1977.

³⁴ Marianne Haraszti-Takács, *Spanish Genre Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983).

to source documents, recent assessments of the works and the superior technical quality of reproductions which is possible today.³⁵ Since the primary sources for my thesis are Murillo's paintings, these two catalogues have provided the basic framework for the thesis. Valdivieso's catalogue raisonné largely follows Angulo's layout and draws on his archival research. However, in comparison with Angulo's study, it is compressed into one volume instead of three. It catalogues a much-reduced number of 425 works which are considered by Valdivieso to be "obras auténticas conservadas, documentadas, firmadas o autenticadas por su estilo" and excludes disputed works, copies or those by his studio. Valdivieso, who has written extensively about Murillo and Baroque painting in Seville, lists details of the paintings' provenance, exhibition and bibliography, and in my thesis, I have not repeated these bibliographical sources for individual paintings. The catalogue itself is prefaced by a relatively brief overview of Murillo's life and subsequent fame, in contrast to Angulo who devoted over a third of his first volume to this topic. Like Angulo, Valdivieso is largely concerned with reconstructing the original locations of paintings using archival sources, describing the iconography of the works and their style. His treatment is largely descriptive as, for example, the first essay dealing with the series of paintings for the cloisters of San Francisco, which is less informative than the more detailed analysis devoted to these works in the catalogue for the exhibition *El Joven Murillo* in 2009.³⁶

On genre painting, Valdivieso notes precedents for Murillo's paintings in the work of the previous generation of artists such as Velázquez and Herrera el Viejo, and that in Seville, there existed Dutch, Flemish and Italian paintings with themes relating to the daily existence of humble, simple people which signalled the existence of a potential market for such works.³⁷ Surprisingly, apart from a reference to a painting named in the collection of Nicolás de Omazur and a series of the Four Seasons in the collection of Justino de Neve, there is no discussion of possible purchasers or commissioners of Murillo's genre works, an omission which I have addressed in chapter 7. As in the sections on religious paintings, his approach in the essay on genre painting is largely descriptive. He argues that despite the various disasters that befell Seville and the

³⁵ Diego Angulo Íñiguez, *Murillo. Su vida, su arte, su obra*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpé, 1981); Enrique Valdivieso, *Murillo: Catálogo Razonado de Pinturas*, (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 2010).

³⁶ Navarrete, *El Joven Murillo*, see the article by Ignacio Cano Rivero, "Murillo's Lost and Dispersed Cycles", pp. 466-478 [Eng. Text] and another by Odile Delenda, "The Claustro Chico of the Casa Grande Monastery of San Francisco", pp. 524-28 [Eng. Text].

³⁷ Valdivieso, *Murillo*, p. 221.

ensuing economic distress, Murillo's paintings do not reflect the anguish of an impoverished population but rather show poor people, largely children, who are happy. His view is that Murillo's street children are never shown as beggars and don't seek pity for their poverty, and that this probably involves Murillo's work in a certain level of idealization.

The only controversy with which Valdivieso engages in relation to Murillo's genre paintings is the question of their reputed erotic content. Although Valdivieso concedes that the painting, *Two Women at a Window*, c. 1655-60, National Gallery of Art, Washington, is a subtle depiction of a prostitute and procuress at a window, he is adamant that other paintings such as *Family Group*, Kimbell Art Museum of Fort Worth, painted around 1655-1660, *Old Woman Delousing a Boy* in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, datable around 1660 and *Spring as a Flower Girl* in the Dulwich Picture Gallery in London, datable to 1670, do not have sexual connotations as suggested by Jonathan Brown in a contentious 1982 article.³⁸

According to Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt who reprises interpretations of the paintings, Jonathan Brown was the first scholar to link Murillo's paintings with northern genre paintings of an erotic nature which the painter and his patrons could have seen in cosmopolitan Seville³⁹. In the case of *Family Group*, Valdivieso follows Angulo in interpreting the painting as three figures looking out at an event that has interrupted the tedium of daily street life, as opposed to one of a young woman signalling her availability by raising up her shawl, a young man who is either a pimp or a rent-boy and an older woman who is a procuress, delousing the head of a young boy. Valdivieso maintains that it is unlikely that a family dedicated to prostitution would offer themselves thus in public and risk being rebuked by honest people.⁴⁰ However, as the historian Elizabeth Perry observes in her book, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, 'legal prostitutes had been tolerated for centuries as deviant insiders essential to the moral order of the city'⁴¹. Though this unsettling cast of four characters defies simple interpretation, I would argue along with other scholars, that its construal as a

³⁸ Jonathan Brown, "Murillo, pintor de temas eróticos, una faceta inadvertida de su obra", *Goya*, (1982), p 38.

³⁹ Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo*, p. 180.

⁴⁰ Valdivieso, *Murillo*, p.228.

⁴¹ Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 137-9.

scene of procurement or possibly as a moralizing message urging the viewer to avoid the temptations of worldly pleasures is closer to the impact of the painting than a naturalistic depiction of a group of colourful street characters. Valdivieso is particularly outraged at Brown's suggestion that the glimpse of the young boy's backside revealed through a tear in his trousers signifies an invitation to pederasty⁴². In a 1996 article, Janis Tomlinson and Marcia Welles also argue that *Four Figures on a Step*, like the picaresque novel *Lazarillo*, deals with the "unsayable", which in both cases is primarily homosexual sex.⁴³ However, the limitation with this interpretation is that an artist like Murillo is unlikely to have risked the attentions of the Inquisition by incorporating such a meaning in his painting, given the official attitude to homosexuality. Perry observes that both secular and ecclesiastical authorities prosecuted cases of sodomy in Spain at this period, noting that seventy-one men were convicted of sodomy in Seville between 1567 and 1616 and burned alive⁴⁴.

1.2b Exhibition Catalogues

Recent exhibitions of Murillo's work have yielded illuminating considerations of his visual production, but only a couple have tackled in any depth the presentation of the poor in his work. A large exhibition of Murillo's paintings was held at the Royal Academy of Arts, London and the Prado in 1982-3, which was accompanied by a catalogue with essays by distinguished Spanish scholars: Diego Angulo Íñiguez on Murillo's life and works; the historian Antonio Domínguez Ortiz on Murillo's Seville; the historian John H. Elliott on art and decline in seventeenth-century Spain; Manuela Mena Marqués, deputy director of the Prado on Murillo's drawings and Enrique Valdivieso on the influence of Murillo on painting in Seville.⁴⁵ In *Murillo in Focus*, a small exhibition in 1989 centred on the *Virgin and Child in Glory*, c. 1673 (fig. 52), at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, Xanthe Brooke explored the critical fortunes of Murillo in Britain.⁴⁶ In the 2001 catalogue, *Murillo: Scenes of Childhood*, she expanded

⁴² Jonathan Brown, *Paintings in Spain 1500-1700*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 228.

⁴³ Janis A. Tomlinson and Marcia L. Welles, "Picturing the Picaresque: *Lazarillo* and Murillo's *Four Figures on a Step*", in Giancarlo Maiorino, ed., *The Picaresque: Tradition and Displacement*, (Minneapolis & London: University of Minneapolis Press, 1996), pp. 66-85.

⁴⁴ Perry, *Gender and Disorder*, p. 124.

⁴⁵ Royal Academy of Arts, *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo: 1617-1682*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982).

⁴⁶ Xanthe Brooke, *Murillo in Focus*, exhib. cat., (Liverpool: Walker Art Gallery, 1989).

this topic to cover the rest of Europe and Peter Cherry provided an illuminating examination of Murillo's genre scenes and their context, which formed the point of departure for the final chapter of my thesis. In 2002, an exhibition on Murillo's works from American collections held at the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, was accompanied by a catalogue with some well-researched essays, including an essay by Jonathan Brown on the devotional paintings of Murillo, Peter Cherry on Murillo's drawing Academy and an analysis of Murillo's technique by Claire Barry, the chief conservator of paintings at the Kimbell Art Museum.⁴⁷ The 2010 catalogue for the above-mentioned exhibition *El Joven Murillo* contained Benito Navarrete's article on Murillo's early paintings, an analysis of his paintings for the Cloisters of San Francisco by the scholar Ignacio Cano Rivero, and Valdivieso's study of Murillo's master, Juan del Castillo.⁴⁸ Most recently, a beautiful exhibition in Madrid, Seville and London in 2012-3 highlighting the relationship between Murillo and Justino de Neve, included an informative essay by Javier Portús Pérez about the discourses on the art of painting in Seville in the time of Justino de Neve, which I have drawn on for my chapter 4 on visual production in seventeenth-century Seville.⁴⁹ All of these exhibitions examined facets of the artist's work, attributions, stylistic development, artistic influence and context which provided me with useful background information, but only the writings of Brooke and Cherry and Benito Navarrete make significant contributions to the question of the relationship between discourses of poverty and Murillo's paintings of the poor.

As noted above, the catalogue, *Murillo: Scenes of Childhood*, is an indispensable source for anyone studying Murillo's genre paintings of children. The exhibition brought together all the known childhood genre scenes by Murillo as well as several of Murillo's religious paintings featuring the Christ Child and John the Baptist, and included seven by his follower, Núñez de Villavicencio (c. 1635-1695), two genre paintings by Diego Velázquez (c. 1599-1660) and one by Jusepe de Ribera (1591-1652). Each of the paintings is accompanied by a thoughtful analysis of its provenance, style, iconography and significance. As noted previously, there is also Xanthe Brooke's

⁴⁷ Susan Stratton-Pruitt, *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617-1682) Paintings from American Collections*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2002).

⁴⁸ Navarrete, *El Joven Murillo*.

⁴⁹ Finaldi, ed., *Murillo & Justino de Neve*, 2012; Portús, Javier, *El concepto de Pintura Española. Historia de un problema*, (Madrid: Editorial Verbum, 2012).

informative essay tracing the taste for Murillo's genre painting across Europe from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries.

Peter Cherry's introductory chapter analyses holy childhood in Murillo's work, noting especially the naturalistic qualities that inform his paintings of children in both religious and genre scenes. He also highlights the importance of the Christ Child as the perfect child, a model of sanctity, virtue and love, an image which Murillo successfully humanizes in his devotional paintings.⁵⁰ Cherry then examines possible sources for Murillo's genre paintings. He looks first at the work of Velázquez, pointing out that Murillo's first genre painting, *Urchin Hunting Fleas*, is stylistically reminiscent of Velázquez's *bodegones*, and adds that Murillo would have admired their artistic ambition.⁵¹ The term *bodegones* signifies "the combination of still-life and genre in a tavern or kitchen scene."⁵² Cherry goes on to discuss Netherlandish sources and Caravaggism as conceivable inspirations for Murillo's genre paintings, a question I shall expand on in chapter 7. The picaresque novel is also examined by Cherry but firmly rejected as a direct source for Murillo's genre paintings, an assertion with which I agree and discuss later in chapter 7. As Cherry notes, however, though picaresque scenes of cheating, trickery and debauchery are absent from Murillo's paintings of street children, his urchins are all equipped with baskets or jugs suggestive of employment as *mozos de la esportilla*, that is basket boys running menial errands and selling fruit, reminiscent of literary characters such as Lazarillo, from *Lazarillo de Tormes*, or the youths in Cervantes' *Rinconete y Cortadillo* who spent periods as water sellers or market porters.⁵³ Perhaps the strongest link with the *pícaro*'s life on the breadline is the presence of food in the majority of Murillo's genre scenes of childhood, indicative of hunger and its satisfaction.

Cherry next analyses the nature of Murillo's naturalism which he fittingly described as carefully contrived.⁵⁴ He discusses the iconography of the paintings according to theme: allegory which was a widely understood *lingua franca* of art, moral themes for which there are precedents in Northern art, and amorous themes, correctly noting the discretion

⁵⁰ Brooke and Cherry, *Murillo*, p. 11.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 16.

⁵² Carmen Fracchia, "(Lack) of Visual Representations of Black Slaves in Spanish Golden Age Painting", *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1 (2004), p. 26.

⁵³ Brooke and Cherry, *Murillo*, pp. 22-24.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 24-27.

of Murillo's treatment of the last subject, possibly a riposte to Jonathan Brown's readings of erotic content.⁵⁵

He concludes with a section on Murillo and the blessed poor. Here, Cherry reprises the view that poverty was viewed as a divinely ordained state in Christian society, where the poor, as the recipients of charitable acts by the rich, enabled the wealthy to achieve salvation through their performance of acts of mercy. This is an opinion that is reflected in Seville sermons of the period which I analyse in chapter 2 of this thesis dealing with the discourses of poverty, but it is a view of the poor that was modified in both sixteenth and seventeenth-century treatises on poverty as I also discuss in that chapter. Cherry rightly identifies Murillo's paintings of saints performing acts of mercy as exhortations to the rich to gain merit through serving the poor. He contrasts the pathetic appearance of the poor in those paintings with that of the ragged but contented urchins of Murillo's genre paintings, arguing that his paintings are in accordance with the traditional theology of the *sanctus pauper*.⁵⁶ He is of the view that the children in the genre paintings could have been seen by contemporaries in Seville as "pious idealizations of the poor as the children of God", the innocents chosen by Christ when he said "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God" (Mark 10:14)".⁵⁷ Moreover, he suggests that the bread in these paintings can be viewed both as food and as sacrament and that Murillo projected "a form of theocentric wish-fulfilment" in these secular works by showing "the blessed poor in happy acceptance of their state in a divinely ordained order".⁵⁸ This reading of the genre paintings is also to be found in an earlier essay by Arsenio Moreno Mendoza in his book, *Mentalidad y pintura en la Sevilla del Siglo de Oro*, which will be discussed below. However, I shall argue in chapter 7 that Murillo, rather than depicting the children as representatives of the blessed poor, is at pains to establish a social identity for the urchins through indicators of status and role. These vary from painting to painting but include the jugs and baskets alluded to earlier. Moreover, these paintings are carefully composed scenes which feature nuanced portraits of distinctive individuals in secular settings and are designed to highlight Murillo's considerable abilities as an artist. Rather than having God as the central focus, I would argue that their primary

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 36.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 40-41.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p.41.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*.

focus is the everyday world of people and things, and ultimately, their purpose is to give pleasure to the spectator, who may well have been someone in Northern Europe.

The catalogue accompanying the exhibition *El Joven Murillo* in Bilbao and Seville in 2009 covers the early years of Murillo's career from 1617 – 1656 and in it, Benito Navarrete Prieto constructs a very different interpretation of the function of Murillo's street children. In addition to a catalogue of 41 early works with notes on provenance, bibliographic references and an analysis of each painting, there are scholarly articles about Murillo's early works.⁵⁹ The opening article by Navarrete Prieto is on the formation of the young Murillo's artistic personality which is subtitled 'From the consolidation of naturalism to the awareness of neglect and social justice in the Seville of his age'.⁶⁰ After a discussion of the use of borrowed models in the early works, Navarrete examines the iconographic programme of Murillo's Claustro Chico series for the Monastery of San Francisco in Seville, following Odile Delenda's analysis of the cycle as a presentation of exemplary models for the instruction of the monks and the devout who entered the church, which dovetails with my research on Murillo's paintings of Saint Thomas de Villanueva in chapter 7.⁶¹ The latter part of the essay is concerned with Murillo's early depictions of children in his genre paintings and the helplessness of the waifs and strays in *Saint Diego of Alcalá Feeding the Poor* in the Claustro Chico cycle. Here Navarrete suggests that the work of the *arbitrista* Francisco Martínez de Mata was a possible source of inspiration for Murillo.⁶² Mata was a Franciscan tertiary living in Seville, a social agitator who published various writings which offered solutions to the economic crisis affecting Spain, including his *Memorial en razón de la despoblación y pobreza de España y su remedio* of 1650.⁶³ Navarrete notes that Martínez de Mata's petitions were disseminated through prints and 'public posters' displayed in the Plaza de San Francisco in Seville and suggests that their overall message echoed the Franciscan concern for poverty. While he concedes that there is no direct cause and effect between the works of Mata and Murillo's paintings,

⁵⁹ Benito Navarrete Prieto and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, dirs., *El Joven Murillo*, (Bilbao: Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 2009), pp. 17-43; English translation, pp. 451-460. I have cited the English translation in subsequent footnotes.

⁶⁰ Navarrete, *El Joven Murillo*, 17-43; English translation, pp. 451-60.

⁶¹ Odile Delenda, 'Le cycle pour le Cloître des franciscains de Séville : la naissance d'un grand peintre' in *Dossier de l'art*, Dijon, n. 115, (2005), pp 20-31 & in Navarrete, *El Joven Murillo*, pp. 524-8.

⁶² Navarrete, *El Joven Murillo*, pp. 456-7.

⁶³ Francisco Martínez de Mata, *Memoriales y discursos*, ed. by Gonzalo Anes, (Madrid: Editorial Moneda y Crédito, 1971), pp. 287- 331.

he maintains that ‘they were in the conscience and spirit of the Franciscans when they commissioned the cycle from the Sevillian painter’ and in producing this cycle of paintings, Murillo was made aware of the need to reflect the huge problem of poverty in Sevillian society.⁶⁴ This is a question which deserves further analysis. In chapter 2 of this thesis, I address in greater depth the writings of Martínez de Mata and, in chapter 5, examine their relevance to both Murillo’s portrayal of the working poor in his *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (Wallace Collection) and to the street children in *Three Boys Playing Dice* in chapter 7.

More controversially, Navarrete likens the false beggars asking for alms, drinking and gambling described in *Discursos del Amparo de los legítimos pobres* by Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, to the street children depicted in Murillo’s genre paintings.⁶⁵ In addition, he argues that Murillo was also familiar with the picaresque tale of *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1602) by Mateo Alemán since a copy is recorded in the library of his son.⁶⁶ He cites a section, reminiscent of Pérez de Herrera’s work, which records how Guzmán is shown how to become a fake beggar:

In addition to this, he showed me how to fake leprosy, make scabs, cause a leg to swell, paralyze an arm, dye the colour of the face, change the entire body and other curious skill of the art, so that they could not tell us, then, that we were strong and healthy, that we should not work.⁶⁷

Navarrete suggests that both these works and Murillo’s paintings “address the problem of the ‘false beggar’, greatly expanding the ‘framing themes’... that underlie *El Lazarillo*.”⁶⁸ While Navarrete’s identification of visual models in the field of painting and engraving for Murillo’s work is instructive, his argument associating Murillo’s genre paintings with a straight dichotomy between the true and false beggars of contemporary discourses merits testing. By closely examining Murillo’s painting of street urchins in *Three Boys Playing Dice*, we shall see in chapter 7 that Murillo’s approach is more subtle and sympathetic to his subjects than a reading of them as the fake beggars of Pérez de Herrera and Mateo Alemán would warrant.

⁶⁴ Navarrete, *El Joven Murillo*, p. 456.

⁶⁵ Navarrete, *El Joven Murillo*, p. 456-457.

⁶⁶ Santiago Montoto, “La Biblioteca de Murillo”, in *Bibliografía Hispánica*, vol. II, (1946), pp. 477, cited in Navarrete and Pérez Sánchez, *El Joven Murillo*, p. 457.

⁶⁷ Mateo Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, [1602], ed. Florencio Sevilla Arroyo, (Barcelona: Random House Mondadori, 2003), p. 331, cited in Navarrete, *El Joven Murillo*, p.457.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 457.

1.2c Recent Scholarly Articles on Murillo's Representations of the Poor

(i) Peter Cherry, having examined Murillo's images of street children in the catalogue *Murillo Scenes of Childhood*, discusses paintings of the poor in religious works in early modern Spain in his recent Spanish article.⁶⁹ It is one of a collection of eighteen papers published in 2008 under the auspices of the Fundación Amigos del Museo del Prado on the development and complexity of realism.

In his paper, Peter Cherry is concerned with the destitute poor in cities, rather than humble people from the lower classes who feature in Velázquez' genre scenes and who are excluded from his study. Cherry notes, as other scholars have done, that in seventeenth century Spain there is no visual equivalent of images of the poor as grotesque, repulsive and vicious to be found in the engravings and prints of other countries.⁷⁰ However, he discusses briefly representations of shepherds, members of the rural poor, in Nativity scenes, writing that they are usually featured as *sanctos inocentes* and occasionally as fools as, for example, in paintings by Juan de Roelas. This interpretation warrants further investigation in relation to Murillo's paintings of *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, a subject which I shall develop in depth in chapter 5.⁷¹

Cherry argues that the poor function in religious art as *sanctus pauper*, a virtuous figure that approximates to Christ and is instrumental in allowing the rich to enter heaven through the practice of charity and good works. The images are directed at clerics, religious orders and elites rather than the poor themselves. Cherry goes on to detail the function and appearance of the poor in a series of Spanish paintings. These include Murillo's compassionate portrait of the poor in *Saint Diego of Alcalá Giving Food to the Poor* which he usefully characterises as reasserting the caring function of the Franciscans in the face of attempts to centralise and secularise poor relief. Also scrutinized sympathetically are three paintings for the church of the Hospital de la Santa Caridad in Seville: *Christ healing the Paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda*, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, and *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Attending the Sick* (figs. 53, 54 and

⁶⁹ Peter Cherry, "La dura realidad de la vida pobres, marginados y el naturalismo español", in Bonaventura Bassegoda et al, *Los pintores de lo real*, (Madrid: Fundación Amigos del Museo del Prado, 2008), pp. 157-180.

⁷⁰ Cherry, "La dura realidad", p. 162.

⁷¹ Cherry, "La dura realidad", p. 158.

5). Here his analysis follows Brown's study of the series, as I do in chapter 6. Cherry also deals with the well-known practical commitment to alleviating poverty in Seville of Murillo and two of his patrons: Miguel Mañara, who was responsible for reenergising Seville's Hermandad de la Caridad and whose writings I discuss in chapter 2 and 6, and Justino de Neve, canon of the cathedral of Seville.⁷² Cherry cites the funeral oration for Justino de Neve given in 1655 by fray Miguel de Pineda which refers to his prodigious work on behalf of the poor.⁷³

He concludes by noting that the beggar in the foreground of *Saint Thomas of Villanueva Distributing Alms*, painted for an altar in the church of the Capuchinos in Seville (fig. 4), represents the ultimate heroic beggar in the work of Murillo: his most polished and moving representation of the nude *sanctos pauper*, intentionally recalling the figure of Christ as 'Man of Sorrows' and designed to inspire compassion, love and devotion, not revulsion. Poverty as a divinely ordained state is a key concept in the discourses of the period and the reason the poor appear in religious compositions, but the question of whether they appear as heroic beggars with echoes of Christ as "Man of Sorrow" will be debated later in relation to the paintings of *Saint Thomas of Villanueva Distributing Alms* and *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Attending the Sick* in chapter 6.

Cherry's article is strong in its analysis of the importance of religion in depictions of the poor and their stimulation of faith by appealing to the emotional senses. While he briefly mentions the reality of poverty in this era, this is not the focus of his article, referring the reader to attempts to distinguish between 'true' and 'false' beggars in the writings of Vives, Soto, Robles and Pérez de Herrera in the previous century. However, in addition to religion, the reality of the life of the poor in Seville and social notions of the poor current at the time also require clarification in dealing with Murillo's depictions of poverty, a question which I shall examine at length in the following two chapters on the discourses and networks of poverty in Seville.

(ii) Another advocate of the view that Murillo's paintings of street children represent the sanctification of poverty is the Spanish academic, Moreno Mendoza, who has written on ideas and images in seventeenth-century Seville. His 1997 book *Mentalidad y pintura en la Sevilla del Siglo de Oro* looks at painting in the context of other forms of

⁷² Cherry, "La dura realidad", note 38, pp 169-170.

⁷³ Cherry, "La dura realidad", note 38, pp 169-170.

representation of the time and the conditions within which such art was made, and his 2004 article, “Murillo, ‘La Santificación’ de la Pobreza”, is an expanded version of chapter six of that book.⁷⁴ His article argues that in his paintings of the poor, both religious and genre, Murillo offers us a blessed world of poverty dedicated to God and consecrated by an immovable order in which there is no place for rebellion or justice.⁷⁵

Like Cherry, Moreno usefully examines the possible antecedents of Murillo’s genre paintings, noting the work in Seville of Francisco López Caro (1598 to 1662) and Francisco de Herrera el Viejo, who was also a painter of *bodegones* and genre scenes, the most remarkable being *El músico ciego y su lazarillo*, painted around 1645, now in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum (fig. 55).⁷⁶ In addition, he points to the paintings of the *Bamboccianti* in Rome as a possible influence which encouraged Murillo to take his genre subjects out of the enclosed spaces of the *bodegones* into the light of the streets and countryside, noting that it is likely that Murillo would have had access to works by northern artists like Van Lear, Eberhardt Keil and Michel Sweerts.⁷⁷

In a section on the image of poverty, as others have observed he remarks on the scornful image of the poor man as revolting, lazy and dirty to be found in Spanish literature of the period and how, according to the treatises of Vives, Robles and Pérez de Herrera the poor constituted a perfect catalogue of vices and deserved to be ‘cleansed’ from the streets.⁷⁸ However, like most scholars, Moreno points out that such negative representations were rare in images of the poor by painters in Seville, in contrast to the generally satirical or allegorical image of the poor in northern painting.⁷⁹

In the final section of the article, Moreno outlines his idea that a new concept of poverty existed in the paintings of Murillo, one of ‘*la pobreza santifica*’ and of Charity making one beautiful in the eyes of the Creator and of men⁸⁰. He has concentrated primarily on Miguel de Mañara, his life, his transformative role in the Hermandad de la Santa Caridad and Moreno emphasises the importance of Mañara’s view that the poor are an integral part of the mystical body of Christ and that charity should be exercised directly

⁷⁴ Arsenia Moreno Mendoza, *Mentalidad y pintura en la Sevilla del Siglo de Oro*, (Madrid: Electa, 1997), pp. 118-137.

⁷⁵ Moreno, “La Santificación de la pobreza”, p. 33.

⁷⁶ Moreno, “Murillo” p.19.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p.20-1.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p.24-5.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p.25.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 33.

without reserve and complete dedication. Much of this is also found in Jonathan Brown's analysis of the iconographic programme of the church of the Santa Caridad.⁸¹ Moreno, in an interesting link to his analysis in his 1997 book, *Mentalidad y pintura en la Sevilla del Siglo de Oro*, talks of a new naturalism in Baroque painting intent on capturing the individuality in every representation, and notes that Murillo's children are real children, uprooted and resigned to a hostile environment, unsurprisingly obsessed with food as an expression of their hard existence. This is a valuable insight into Murillo's genre paintings of children, as we shall see in Chapter 7 of my thesis. However, Moreno goes on to argue that Murillo's paintings elevate a great deception to the category of art since these children never lose their smile, are never repulsive, and are depicted as innocent creatures set in a serene atmosphere of warm and vaporous light. As such, they represent a reflection of the classic dialectic of the baroque between appearance and truth. This, Moreno says, is in effect a depiction of a blessed world of poverty dedicated to God and the germ of a false type of picturesque, which was later elevated to romanticism by lesser talents⁸². However, as I noted in relation to Peter Cherry's analysis of the paintings of street children as the blessed poor, I think that the question of whether holy innocence is the central focus of these paintings requires further discussion, as we shall see later in chapter 7.

(iii) Prieto Navarrete's study of Murillo's early work is derived from a more coherent analysis of the works of Murillo in relation to the writings of Martínez de Mata by the economic historian, Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, in his article published in 2008.⁸³ Yun Casalilla, who has written numerous articles and books about the stagnation and decline of Castile in the Early Modern period, notes that the works of Martínez de Mata, an *arbitrista* writing in mid-seventeenth century Seville, were considered to be economic texts worthy of publication in the eighteenth century by Pedro Rodríguez, Conde de Campomanes, (1723-1803) who included them as a supplement to his *Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos y su formento* (1775).⁸⁴ Yun Casalilla considers that contradictions between exports of products mostly made elsewhere and local industry

⁸¹ See Brown, *Images and Ideas*, pp 128 -146].

⁸² Moreno, "Murillo", pp. 32-3.

⁸³ Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, "Imagen e ideología en la Europa del siglo XVII. Trabajo y familia en Murillo y Martínez de Mata" in Joan Lluís Palos and Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, dirs, *La historia imaginada: Construcciones visuales del pasado en la Edad Moderna*, (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2008), pp. 235-264.

⁸⁴ Pedro Rodríguez, Conde de Campomanes, *Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos, y su formento*, (Madrid: D. Antonio de Sancha), 1775.

had reached a critical point in Seville in mid-seventeenth century. Moreover, like much of Europe, Seville was suffering from the political and fiscal problems generated by wars in Europe in the preceding years. As in other areas, cities and towns in Andalucía, including Seville, were hit by a series of significant social disturbances between 1648 and 1652, caused by high prices due to bad harvests, outbreaks of epidemics and monetary manipulations. He argues that the lives of Murillo and Mata surely must have crossed during this period, especially given that the square in front of the Monastery of San Francisco where Murillo was working was the main area of socialization for the city and a gathering place for both the poor and artisans inflamed by hunger. The monastery itself was the home for many confraternities and also where many poor sought aid.⁸⁵ Although there are no direct references in Mata's writings to the struggles of the fifties, there do exist allusions in his more general discussion of the arts. He was also a fervent defender of the notion that the value of things is related to the work involved in its production and, above all, that it is artisans who contribute to the riches of the reign.⁸⁶

Yun Casalilla detects a similar concern with the work of artisans and its importance in sustaining the family in Murillo's paintings. He cites his paintings of the Holy Family, such as *The Holy Family with the Little Bird*, c. 1650, Prado, which elevates the presence of Saint Joseph, a carpenter, over that of Mary and includes his work utensils (fig. 15). Yun Casalilla also highlights the inclusion of references to female work in Murillo's paintings, such as his painting of the two patron saints of Seville who were potters, *Saints Justa and Rufina*, c. 1665-1668, Museo de Bellas Artes in Seville, which includes crockery in the foreground at the bottom of the painting (fig. 35). The texts of Miguel de Giginta and Pérez de Herrera (first published in Seville), as well as *Guzman de Alfarache*, are cited as evidence that the elites who commissioned Murillo's paintings were more disposed to approve of work than poverty and that they also distinguished between 'true' and 'false' poor.⁸⁷ He is certain that Murillo portrays the legitimate poor in paintings such as *Saint Diego of Alcalá Giving Food to the Poor* or *Thomas of Villanueva Distributing Alms*. Moreover, his paintings of street urchins also show children getting by through work such as selling water or fruit.

⁸⁵ Yun Casalilla, "Imagen e ideología", p. 241.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 244.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 253-4.

In his view, Murillo painted the two realities: marginalization and poverty, together with the charity with which it came to be associated on the one hand, and on the other, work and the family.⁸⁸ Both of these aspects are key in social debates of that epoch. However, Yun Casalilla argues that Murillo's vision of society appears to be conservative and idealized, well ordered and hierarchical. Dress, for example, is shown according to status. Yun Casalilla considers that it could not be otherwise, as Murillo was bound to reflect the social language of his commissioners, especially that of the clergy and the language of religious morality, of the just and unjust, of the correct use of wealth and of the distinction between good and bad government.⁸⁹ He situates Murillo, and most of his commissioners, in the stream of opinion revived by Miguel de Mañara who favoured selective charity carried out by private citizens while placing Martínez de Mata in the tradition of Pérez de Herrera and his vision of work as the redeemer of poverty.⁹⁰

This article is a pivotal point of departure for my analysis of Mata's work in chapter 2 and of the question of work in relation to Murillo's painting of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in chapter 5. It also led me to Charlene Villaseñor Black's 2006 book on the creation of the cult of Saint Joseph in the Spanish Empire and role of work in his image which also informed that chapter.⁹¹

There are other publications on Murillo's images which touch briefly on his portrayal of the poor, but the writings outlined above were the most significant for my thesis and raised questions about Murillo's representations of the poor which warranted further attention. In the following chapter, I shall discuss examples of the discourses of poverty in seventeenth-century Seville. Aside from the treatises which are deliberated in chapter 2, I have also drawn on Seville chronicles from the seventeenth century, the most notable being Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga's *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla.... 1246-1671*, published in 1677 in five volumes and the *Memorias de Sevilla (1600-1678)* edited by Francisco Morales Padrón, both of which give valuable information about events which affected the city in the period.⁹² These

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 256.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 259.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p.260.

⁹¹ Charlene Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of St Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire*, (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006).

⁹² Ortiz de Zúñiga, Diego, *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla.... 1246-1671*, [1677], *ilustrados y corregidos por D. Antonio María Espinosa Y Carzel*, 5 vols.,

were primarily the acts of authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical, and ‘acts of God’ such as storms, floods, fires, plagues and earthquakes. They record the comings and goings of nobles, representatives of the king and senior religious figures; of the arrivals and departures of galleons and fleets; of processions, masses and sermons intended to celebrate important events such as the canonization of San Fernando in 1630, to mourn the deaths of distinguished persons or to seek divine relief from natural disasters such as drought and plague. The *Memorias de Sevilla* also records, sometimes in great detail, murders, thefts, heresy and even infrequent cases of ‘*el pecado nefando*’ (homosexual acts), as well as the public trials, hanging, burning or beheading of wrong-doers. The *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares*, on the other hand, gives more information about the cultural life of the city, but both chronicles are notable for the absence of the poor, except as recipients of alms, and as participants in the uprising of 1652.

(Madrid: La Imprenta Real, 1796). In this edition Antonio María Espinosa Y Carzel added a continuation of the *Anales* from 1672 up to the year 1700, tomo V, pp. 277-471;

Morales Padrón, Francisco, ed., *Memorias de Sevilla (1600-1678)*, (Córdoba: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad Y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1981). Morales Padrón integrated a manuscript without title (64-7-100) which existed amongst around a hundred documents by diverse hands and assembled the manuscript in chronological order along with 14 appendices containing documents by other writers or copyists which had links to the main text (Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina ms. 84-7-19; ms. 82-5-21; ms. 83-7-14; ms 82-3-26; ms. 84-7-21; ms. 64-7-100 and ms. 85-5-21). See his introduction to the text for a description of his methodology and details of the manuscripts he examined, pp. 12-18.

Chapter 2: Discourses of Poverty

“Quitar de España los fingidos, falsos, engañosos, y vagabundos, usurpadores de la limosna de los otros.”¹ Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera (1556-1620).

Numerous Hispanic texts generated in the sixteenth and seventeenth century contained ideas about the nature of poverty in the Iberian Peninsula of this period. The famous debates of the sixteenth century about poverty and its relief which were expounded in a series of treatises and reformist tracts by ecclesiastics and secular writers have been studied in detail by literary and historical scholars.² The aim of this chapter is to explore the most important aspects of those discussions in order to clarify the concepts which underpinned attitudes towards poverty and the poor during the period in which Murillo was working in Seville and which might have helped to shape the paintings which will be analysed in chapters 5, 6 and 7 of this thesis. As noted in my introductory chapter, I have not examined the discourses of poverty vis-à-vis the literature, poetry and theatre of the Golden Age in this section. The changing perceptions of the poor discussed in this chapter are evident in fictive autobiographies of *pícaros* such as *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache*, Francisco Quevedo's *El buscón*, and López de Ubeda's *La pícara Justina*, and have been debated in the copious literature on the picaresque genre. I have included some citations from this literature where apt, but in order to explore new associations, my thesis deals with factual documents and religious texts rather than the fictional constructs of literature and theatre.

I shall begin by summarising the sixteenth-century debates as far as possible, since they are crucial in understanding later deliberations on the subject, and examine in depth the writings of Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, a late sixteenth century arbitrista and proponent

¹ Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres* [1598] ed. Michel Cavillac, Madrid: (Espasa-Calpe, 1975), p. 13.

² See, for example, Anne J. Cruz, *Discourses of poverty: social reform and the picaresque novel in early modern Spain*, (Toronto & London: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain: The Example of Toledo*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), especially chapter 1; Múzquiz, D., *Charity, Punishment and Labor: The Textualization of Poverty in XVII-Century Spain*, unpublished doctoral thesis, (University of California, San Diego, 1994); Marie-Paule Jojima, *Spanish attitudes to poverty as reflected in a selection of representative literary texts, c 1500- c1635*, unpublished doctoral thesis, (University of London, 1997); José María Garrán Martínez, *La Prohibición de la Mendicidad: La controversia entre Domingo de Soto y Juan de Robles en Salamanca (1545)*, (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, 2004); Elena Maza Zorrilla, *Pobreza y Asistencia Social en España, siglos XVI al XX: aproximación histórica*, (Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones, Universidad de Valladolid, 1987).

of poor relief reform, whose writings are relevant to discussion of Murillo's genre paintings in chapter 7. To complement these well-known sources, I shall also explore a selection of less well-known writings generated in Seville itself, to bring a more local perspective to my study, and by narrowing the focus, I shall expand the ways of approaching this topic. The first of these writings is a mid-seventeenth century tract on the remedy for poverty in Spain by the arbitrista Francisco Martínez de Mata who was based in Seville and whose views on the importance of work are germane to an examination of Murillo's paintings discussed in chapter 5; secondly, an early seventeenth-century account written for his superiors by the Jesuit, Padre Pedro de León, of his pastoral work amongst the poor and dispossessed in Seville and the surrounding area, whose vivid writings form a useful background to depictions of the poor in this period and offer an insight into the workings of a network of charity; thirdly, a selection of sermons preached in Seville during the late seventeenth century which will assist in illuminating the works discussed in chapter 6, in particular, the nature of alms-giving; and lastly, a religious tract, *Discurso de la verdad*, written by Don Miguel Mañara, the head of one of the most important confraternities in Seville, who was instrumental in commissioning Murillo's series of paintings on the subject of the acts of mercy for the confraternity's church and whose impassioned plea for the importance of practical works of charity is instructive in any consideration of the works in chapter 6.

2.1 Sixteenth-century debates.

Robert Jütte observed that in pre-industrial Europe, poverty was more than a lack of material goods; rather it was regarded as a subordinating relation between people which was rooted in the medieval idea of the poor as a means of salvation for the rich.³ Christ had sanctified poverty through the example of his life on earth as a poor man and as a result, the poor were associated with Christ and his suffering. Poverty was considered a divinely ordained state which enabled the practice of virtue by the rich who were required by the Church to act charitably and also by the recipients of alms who were obliged to pray for the redemption of the alms-giver. Thus, the poor, as the path to

³ Robert Jütte, *Poverty and deviance in early modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.194; see also Jean-Pierre Gutton, *La Société et les Pauvres en Europe (XVIe-XVIIIe Siècles)*, (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), pp.93-4.

salvation for the powerful, were central to the social order and a balance was upheld through a system of material exchange in return for spiritual welfare.

However, legislation against vagabondage started appearing in Europe as early as the fourteenth century: in Spain in 1351, in England in 1349 and 1351 and France in 1350.⁴ Once the dispossessed started migrating from rural areas to towns, poverty seemed less a sign of election, more one of malediction and a danger to society. The English Beggars Act of 1531, for example, defined a vagabond as ‘any man or woman being whole and mighty in body and able to labour, having no land, master, nor using any lawful merchandise, craft or mystery whereby he might get his living’.⁵

In Spain, numerous sixteenth-century religious and secular writers focused attention on distinguishing between those considered to be the legitimate poor, that is those who were incapable of fulfilling their basic needs themselves and therefore deserving of charity, and fraudulent beggars and the undeserving poor, that is those thought to be capable of working and therefore undeserving of aid, who were generally viewed as outsiders and as a threat to public order, in effect challenging the abstract theological perception of poverty as a virtue. Much of the debate about the poor and their relief concerned theological fine points of charitable assistance. *De subventionem pauperum*, the influential 1526 treatise written by the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives in his adopted city of Bruges, is an early attempt to deal with the failure of Christian charity and produce a theoretical base for the reform of assistance that was already in train in some of the towns in Flanders. Its central appeal was an appreciation of the debilitating effects that public begging and vagabondage had on society and the development of a rational programme for the total eradication of this anti-social behaviour. Vives sees poverty as a threat to social order, the economy and the survival of the state, noting in his introduction that “a wise government, solicitous for the common good, will not leave so large a part of the citizenry in a condition of uselessness, harmful to themselves and to others”.⁶ Firstly, the city council or its deputies should identify and register the poor; those who were homeless would be housed in city hospitals or specially designated houses while those who had a home would be relieved there. Vagrants not

⁴ Gutton, *La Société et les Pauvres en Europe*, p. 95.

⁵ Reproduced in Frank Reynier Salter, ed., *Some early tracts on poor relief*, (London: Methuen & Co, 1926), p. 123.

⁶ Juan Luis Vives, *On Assistance to the Poor*, [*De Subventionem Pauperum*] trans. with an introduction & commentary by Alice Tobriner, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 36.

from the city should be given a small travel allowance to return to their place of origin; everyone else who was fit to do so should be made to work, either at home or in hospitals supporting the needy. This imperative included the blind, the infirm and the aged, while children (including girls) were to be taught the fundamentals of literacy; special provision, however, was to be made for the so-called shamefaced poor, that is wealthy citizens fallen on hard times who were too ashamed to beg for assistance.⁷ Those who failed to comply should be punished severely. Moreover, the poor were exhorted to remain humble and grateful: [The poor] “should not be satisfied to mouth their thanks for the benefits they received, but should maintain a grateful spirit”. Just as “none among the poor should be idle”, the state has a duty to provide employment programmes for the deserving poor.⁸ According to Vives:

The able-bodied who remain in the hospitals like drones, living by the sweat of others, should leave and be put to work... For the poor who live at home, work should be furnished by the public officials, by the hospitals, or by private citizens.⁹

Vives favoured a secularised administration of relief but assumes that a reorganisation of hospital finances, voluntary contributions or even loans from the wealthy and the state against future alms, all administered by trustworthy public officials would suffice.¹⁰ Vives’ approach offered a coherent programme for managing society which was founded on the Christian humanist belief in a logically ordered world. Moreover, it safeguarded systems of privilege while providing peace on the streets, a cheap supply of labour and a reasonable return on government expenditure.

Though Vives’ treatise was influential in Northern Europe, intervention by the state in matters of poor relief remained controversial in Spain throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The 1540 Castilian poor law set out the administrative details of a licensed begging system which allowed the legitimate poor, those unable to provide for themselves through work, to be awarded a license by the parish priest to beg in the places where they were natives or residents.¹¹ Anyone begging without a license was to

⁷ Vives, *On Assistance to the Poor*, pp 39-43.

⁸ Vives, *On Assistance to the Poor*, p 39.

⁹ Vives, *On Assistance to the Poor*, p. 42.

¹⁰ Vives, *On Assistance to the Poor*, pp 45-47.

¹¹ *Quadernos de algunas leyes*, 1544. *Novísima recopilación*, lib. 7, tit. 39, leyes 1-13 cited in Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain: The Example of Toledo*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p19; for a list of poverty laws promulgated between 1523 and 1555 in Spain, see Darlene Múzquiz, *Charity, Punishment and Labor: The Textualization of Poverty in XVII-Century Spain*, unpublished doctoral thesis, (University of California, San Diego, 1994), note 11, p. 21.

be punished. However, a great debate over the right to beg for alms ensued in 1545 between the Dominican Domingo de Soto, professor of theology at the University of Salamanca, and the Benedictine, Juan de Robles, abbot of the Monastery of St Vincent in Salamanca. Utilising the rhetoric of religion in his treatise *Deliberación en la causa de los pobres*, Soto defended the right of the poor, the *pauperes Christi*, to beg freely in a Catholic state, observing that all the examination of the needs and ailments of the poor arose “not so much out of love and mercy for the deserving poor as of hate and loathing for the whole miserable estate”.¹² Valuing *caritas* over rational ethics and *caridad* over justice, Soto argued that:

When in doubt if someone is truly poor, it is better to be charitable and accept him as such, than to side with justice and rebuke his feigned poverty. For surely it is more cruel and harmful to withhold [charity] from four true paupers because of twenty false poor than it is unjust to help twenty false beggars so as not to harm the four legitimate paupers.¹³

In his response to Soto’s treatise published two months later, *De la orden que en algunos pueblos de España se ha puesto en la limosna para remedio de los verdaderos pobres*, Juan de Robles supported discrimination in poor relief, arguing as Vives had done, that the undeserving poor should be punished. Citing numerous scriptural and canonical references, Robles is adamant that “he who gives work or charity without examination of the recipient behaves badly and sins gravely”.¹⁴ His remedy was to improve the conditions of the poor by means of organized donations, collected both publicly by prelates and secretly in special collection boxes, which were to be administered preferably by a religious person, as opposed to individual alms-giving.

However, though both theologians dedicated their books to the young Prince Philip, he refrained from making public pronouncements about relief of the poor until new poor laws were promulgated in 1565 which rescinded the 1540 laws, elaborated procedures for a licensed begging system administered largely by parish officials and also provided for the punishment of vagabonds who stood accused of taking the alms that belonged to those truly in need. Nonetheless, as Domingo de Soto had recommended, the crown did

¹² Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación en la causa de los pobres (Y réplica de Fray Juan de Robles)*, (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1965, reprint of the original editions published in 1545), p. 72 ; see also Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain*, chapter 1, for a discussion of Castilian legislation, debates and innovations on the relief of the poor during this period; Anne J. Cruz, *Discourses of poverty: social reform and the picaresque novel in early modern Spain*, (Toronto & London: University of Toronto Press, 1999), pp. 21-9.

¹³ Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación en la causa de los pobres*, p. 75.

¹⁴ Soto, *Deliberación en la causa de los pobres*, p. 194.

not forbid public begging, nor demand that the poor were placed in hospitals, nor that they be required to return to their birthplace.¹⁵ Darlene Múzquiz notes that no further laws pertaining to the “*socorro y recogimiento de los pobres*” were promulgated until 1671 and that it was not until the eighteenth century that laws were implemented regarding “*vagos y modo de proceder á su recogimiento y destino*”.¹⁶

Hospitals, classified in the Tridentine legislation as ‘pious works’, were also the subject of debate, particularly during the last third of the sixteenth century when reformers promoted beggars’ hospitals as a panacea for the problems of poverty in Spain and the Crown attempted to merge the many small, poor hospitals into larger, multi-purpose institutions.¹⁷ The controversy over discrimination in poor relief re-emerged during this period with the publication in 1579 of *Tractado de remedio de los pobres*, a treatise written by the Catalanian canon Miguel Giginta, which expounded his ideas about the creation of hospitals to provide living quarters, food, leadership and productive employment for the poor, financed by orderly begging and the usual combination of donations, profits from the work projects and from consolidations of small, poor hospitals, though Giginta was vague about the degree of compulsion required to make his scheme work.¹⁸ Nonetheless, despite recognizing the social imperative to aid the truly poor, his treatise reveals an important ideological shift towards a social perception of the poor as social deviants:

Rid the many false poor of their free time, as they ruin themselves and the nation by feeding from others’ labour... This will eliminate the many dissolute actions that our present disorderly state allows the false beggars... Neither false nor true beggars will continue to use their children in their vile business.¹⁹

Two years after Giginta’s treatise was published, a beggars’ hospital opened in Toledo, followed by others in Madrid and Barcelona but, being funded by complicated money raising schemes, they were underfunded and proved unable to fulfil their functions. However, they never became ‘proto-penal’ institutions as in England and Holland.²⁰

¹⁵ See Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain*, pp.32-34 for a detailed discussion of the 1565 law.

¹⁶ Múzquiz, *Charity, Punishment and Labor*, note 21, p. 29.

¹⁷ Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain*, pp. 61-65 gives examples of these consolidations.

¹⁸ Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain*, pp.67-76; also, Cruz, *Discourses of poverty*, pp. 54-64.

¹⁹ Miguel de Giginta, *Tractado de remedio de los pobres*, 1579 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid), Cap.x 42r, 43r, cited in Cruz, *Discourses of poverty*, p. 58.

²⁰ Jütte, *Poverty and deviance in early modern Europe*, pp. 173-4.

2.2 *Arbitristas*: Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres* (1598)²¹

Debates about poverty are also to be found in the writings of the *arbitristas*. The word *arbitrista*, in use from the final decades of the sixteenth century, was generally applied pejoratively to those who proposed projects to the king and his advisors which would bring about the restoration of the king's finances and of the Castilian economy.²²

Miguel de Cervantes famously ridiculed the *arbitristas* in his novella *The Dialogue of the Dogs* (*Coloquio de los perros*) in which an *arbitrista* claimed that his absurd plan, for the king to order all his vassals to fast one day a month and pay to the king the money which had been saved, would result in the king being free of debt within twenty years.²³ Sebastian de Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la Lengua castellana*, 1611, provided an entry for the term *arbitrio* under the definition for *albedrío*, in which he described the new usage of the term *arbitrio* as signifying misjudgement and delusion as opposed to the meaning of *arbitrium*, the original Latin word from which it was derived, which conveyed judgement, decision, will. The entry goes on to say that that nowadays the term usually means something dangerous such as creating schemes to gain money and destroy the kingdom because those who make the proposals are madmen. Covarrubias adds that, in truth, those proposals are generally not heeded, since once men of science and knowledge examine them, they are rejected, and amongst the harms they cause is that they prevent others from proposing good schemes to fulfil needs and remedy shortcomings because of the bad name associated with this type of proposal.²⁴

The Spanish historian, Juan Ignacio Gutiérrez Nieto, notes in his chapter on fiscal and financial *arbitrios* in the time of Philip II that there are hundreds and hundreds of fiscal *arbitrios* in Spanish archives.²⁵ He identifies five sorts of proposals: fiscal and financial;

²¹ Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres*, edición, introducción y notas de Michel Cavillac, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1975).

²² John Huxtable Elliott, *The Revolt of the Catalans: A Study in the Decline of Spain, 1598-1640*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1963), p. 572.

²³ Miguel de Cervantes, *Exemplary Stories*, (1613), trans. with an intro. and notes by Lesley Lipson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 302-3.

²⁴ Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua castellana o española* [1611], edited by Felipe C. R. Maldonado. (Madrid: Castalia, 1995), p. 43. "y el día de hoy hace estrechado a significar una cosa bien perjudicial, que es dar trazas como sacar dineros y destruir el reino; porque de ordinario los que dan estos arbitrios son gente perdida Verdad es que a estos tales pocas veces se les da oídos, porque como ha de pasar el arbitrio por hombres de ciencia y conciencia, se los rechazan, y entre otros males que hacen es acobardar a los que podrían darlos, por el mal nombre que han puesto a este género de suplir necesidades y remediar faltas".

²⁵ Juan Ignacio Gutiérrez Nieto, "El pensamiento económico, político y social de los arbitristas" in José María Jover, *El Siglo del Quijote (1580-1680)*. Series *Historia de España*, Vol. 26, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1986), p. 239.

economic, which were primarily concerned with agrarianism and mercantilism; political, which proposed measures to totally reform the state; social, which dealt with schemes for social reform; and lastly, technical, which proposed innovative measures for instruments employed in the different branches of economic production.²⁶ As it is beyond the scope of this thesis to undertake a detailed examination of the work of the *arbitristas*, I propose to examine in detail two such treatises, one famous, and one less well known written in Seville in the decade after the plague of 1649, both relevant, as we shall see in chapters 5 and 7, to my analysis of Murillo's paintings of poor people. The first of these is the *Amparo de pobres* by Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera published in 1598. The last of the sixteenth-century proponents of poor relief reform, Pérez de Herrera, was not a cleric but a physician and *arbitrista*. His treatise took some of the ideas of Miguel Giginta and tried to offer a solution to the important social problem of poverty. The second work, written approximately fifty years later, is *Memorial en razón del remedio de la despoblación, pobreza y esterilidad de España, y el medio como se ha de desapañar la Real Hacienda y la de los vasallos*, a memorial on how to remedy the depopulation, poverty and barrenness of Spain by the *arbitrista* and political economist, Francisco Martínez de Mata.²⁷

In his opening address to the King, Pérez de Herrera writes that he aims to tell the young Prince, the King's successor, of his kingly duty to provide: "poor relief which includes the abolishment of vagabonds and aid to the soldiers who return maimed or otherwise disabled from the wars" and that this will result in his "eternal fame and universal prestige."²⁸ In addition to this Address to the King, the *Amparo de Pobres* is prefaced by several endorsements, including one from the canon of Seville, Don Alonso Coloma, and a sonnet by the famous playwright and poet, Lope de Vega.

Pérez de Herrera (1556? – 1620), who was born in Salamanca where he studied medicine, was an examiner of the Castilian *Protomédicato* (1577-80), *protomédico* of the Spanish galleys (1580 -92), and finally, court physician to Philip II and Philip III from 1592 until his death in 1620, during which time he founded the Royal Pharmacy in

²⁶ Gutiérrez Nieto, "El pensamiento económico, político y social de los arbitristas", p. 237.

²⁷ Francisco Martínez de Mata, *Memoriales y discursos*, ed. by Gonzalo Anes, (Madrid: Editorial Moneda y Crédito, 1971).

²⁸ Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo*, p. 11, "el remedio de los pobres, en que está inclusa la extirpación de los vagabundos, y el amparo de los soldados que salen mancos y estropeados de la Guerra" ... "espero en Dios resultará sin duda la eternidad de la fama de V A. debida a obras tales."

1594.²⁹ In Madrid, he became friends with Mateo Alemán, the author of the renowned picaresque novel *Guzmán de Alfarache*. According to the literary historian Anne Cruz, his position at court and his friendship with Rodrigo Vázquez Arce, then president of the Council of Castile, gave him an entry into a political arena that he hoped would enable him to translate his opinions into state policy.³⁰

He published works dealing with medicine, poor relief and general policy, the first layman since Vives to make a major contribution to the sixteenth-century Spanish debates about poor relief.³¹ Between 1595 and 1598, a time of catastrophic crisis in Castile, he produced a series of discourses on poverty and poor relief addressed to the King which were republished together in 1598 as *Discursos del amparo de los legítimos pobres y reducción de los fingidos; y de la fundación y principio de los albergues destos reinos, y amparo de la milicia dellos*. In this he outlined a comprehensive plan for reforming the system of welfare in the Hispanic kingdoms. The main pillar of his scheme was to be a network of *albergues* or hostels in around fifty major Castilian towns which would provide overnight accommodation and spiritual guidance for impoverished people. It had similarities to a scheme proposed by the canon Miguel Giginta in 1576, but in contrast to Giginta's proposals, those using the *albergues* would not be fed there but would, instead, be licensed to beg.

However, what is most striking about Pérez de Herrera's treatise is his vitriolic attacks on idleness and so-called false beggars, considered by him to be the root cause of society's ills. In his letter to the reader at the start of the treatise, Pérez de Herrera writes about the need to rid Spain of false vagabonds ("*quitar de España los fingidos, falsos, engañosos, y vagabundos*") who usurp the alms of others, transgress the good laws and customs of these realms and who provoke the wrath of God onto the whole town as a

²⁹ Ole P. Grell, Andrew Cunningham and Jon Arrizabalaga, *Health Care and Poor Relief in Counter-Reformation Europe*, eds., (London & New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 161; see also Michel Cavillac, Introducción y notas de Michel Cavillac in Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres*, 1975, esp. pp. xi - lxxiii for a detailed examination of his life and also Cavillac's article, "Noblesse et ambiguïtés au temps de Cervantes: Le cas du Docteur Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera" in *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*. Tome 11. 1975, pp. 177-212, which discusses the probability that Herrera was a *converso*, concluding that, like many of the other sixteenth-century reformers such as Vives, he was indeed a *converso*.

³⁰ Anne J. Cruz, *Discourses of Poverty: Social Reform and the Picaresque Novel in Early Modern Spain*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), pp. 63-4.

³¹ Cavillac notes that Pérez de Herrera published medical treatises on the prevention of plague ((1599) and of croup (1608), paediatrics (1604) and a *Compendium totius Medicinae* (1614), "Noblesse et ambiguïtés au temps de Cervantes", p. 181.

result of their sins and excesses, causing contagious infections and pernicious illnesses.³²

The first discourse is filled with stories about the many tricks that false beggars adopt to gain alms and avoid working, such as making false ulcers, pretending to be blind and deaf, twisting the feet or hands of their newly born children. This is reminiscent of the negative images of disabled and lazy beggars as rogues to be found in Dutch art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as the image by Adriaen van de Venne from around 1635, entitled ‘*t zijn ellendige benen die Armoede moeten dragen*’ (‘It is miserable legs that must bear poverty’), (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam), which brutally ridicules the idea of mutual help between the lame and blind beggar.³³ Pérez de Herrera quotes, for example a case told by fray Pablo de Mendoza, whom he validates as a witness by calling him an erudite and respected person. He relates that a woman begged her husband not to blind her new-born son by burning his eyes with a hot iron as had already been done to her other two children, noting that they were well provided for since the blind children were pretty and roused compassion so that everyone gave them alms.³⁴

Pérez de Herrera considers that, judging by his personal experience, these false beggars know nothing of Christian doctrine, do not go to confession or attend mass and eat meat on days prohibited by the Church.³⁵ Moreover, Turks, Moors and spies, as well as heretics from various wicked sects who are a danger to the Catholic faith of ignorant people, are said to travel through the land dressed as sham poor people (“*andán en estos reinos en hábito de pobres fingidos*”), while huge numbers of foreigners are able to enter the country unchecked in the guise of poor pilgrims.³⁶

³² Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo*, pp. 13-14, “*Usurpadores de la limosna de los otros, transgresores de las buenas leyes y costumbres de los reinos...provocadores con sus pecados y excesos de la ira de Dios contra todo el pueblo, y causa de los contagios y enfermedades perniciosas dél...*”

³³ See, for example, Lucinda Kate Reinold, *The Representation of the Beggar as Rogue in Dutch Seventeenth Century Art*, unpublished doctoral thesis, (University of Berkeley, 1981); also, Tom Nichols, *The Art of Poverty: irony and ideal in sixteenth-century beggar imagery*, (Manchester & New York, Manchester University Press, 2007) for a comparison of the image of roguish beggar with that found in sixteenth century Italian sacred art, especially pp.49-98.

³⁴ Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo*, p. 28, “*Le pidió con muchas lágrimas una mujer que rogase a su marido que no le cegase un niño recién nacido quejándose que con un hierro ardiendo pasándoselo por junto a los ojos había cegado otros dos, y lo mismo quería a éste ...los dos niños ciegucecitos...eran hermosos, y movían a mucha compasión, y todos les daban limosna.*”

³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 24-5, & 36.

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 39-40.

Above all, in addition to setting a bad example and taking alms which would be better shared amongst the real poor, these phony beggars are said to put everyone's health at risk by corrupting the air with the stench and decay emanating through their breath and the sweat of their filthy bodies, by eating putrid food thrown out of houses and drinking large quantities of bad water and wine in preference to working, so that they cause typhus and plague, particularly in hot, humid places such as Seville in summer.³⁷

Pérez de Herrera sets out proposals for a general reformation of poor relief throughout the Crown of Castile. The first priority is to set up in each large or medium sized town a place which is to be called "*el albergue y casa de los pobres*", adding that in many towns, venues already exist which can be used for this purpose, such as hostels for poor pilgrims.³⁸ In these venues, which will be simply furnished, all of the poor men, women and children will be gathered each night to sleep, after saying the Ave María.³⁹ These institutions were intended to house only the healthy poor, with the sick being sent to be cared for in appropriate hospitals.⁴⁰ Although the administration of the hostels was to be in the hands of a priest administrator, a city *Corregidor* and two delegates who would be a canon and a town councillor elected annually, the introduction and control of the reform was to be in the hands of the monarchy. In the Sixth Discourse, Pérez de Herrera proposes that a *Protector General destos pobres* and a *Comisario General de los Albergues* (the president and one member of the Royal Council respectively) would be nominated by the king to direct the process. A body of *censores*, to be headed by the *Procurador General de los Albergues*, would monitor the fulfilment of the royal laws and the administration of the hostels.⁴¹

At the heart of Pérez de Herrera's proposal was the distinction to be made between the legitimate poor and undeserving vagrants. To establish this difference, all the poor had to be registered, regardless of their place of birth, otherwise they would be treated as

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 42, "...de mantenimientos muy dañosos, comiendo las carnes corrompidas, y otros malos y podridos que se desechan de las casas, y bebiendo malas aguas y malos vinos, y en mucha cantidad; la cual corrupción y hediondez, saliendo en sus alientos y sudores sucios... alteran y corrompen el aire, engendrando tabardillos, y a veces pestes, principalmente en el Andalucía y en tierras calientes y húmidas, como es Sevilla."

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 52.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 53.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 57-8.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, pp. 189-192.

offenders, punishable under the 1565 Poor Law. In order to stop beggars escaping the reforms, Pérez de Herrera advises that the king should mandate:

“that, in all cities, towns and locations within these kingdoms... all the poor begging at people’s doors and along the roads should come, on the same day and at the same time at all locations, to the aforementioned houses or shelters, or to those nearest where they first hear the proclamation.”⁴²

These poor were to be examined by the administrator of the hostel as well as a representative of both the cathedral chapter and the city or town council, in the presence of a physician or surgeon. Those who were identified as being a poor person deserving aid, that is one-armed, crippled, hunchbacked, blind, elderly or children under the age of six, in other words, incapable of being of service to the republic and unable to support themselves, were to be granted a renewable licence to beg for alms in that city for one year.⁴³ As will become clear in chapter 6, this description of the legitimate poor fits the majority of the poor people represented in Murillo’s religious paintings of saints dispensing charity.

Those licensed were to be identified by a badge round their neck and had to beg after mass each day to pay for their food and accommodation. They were to have a cross, an image of Our Lady, a rosary and the arms of the city, since “they are the poor of God and beg in His Name”.⁴⁴ The administrator and deputies needed to make sure that they lived virtuously, were taught the Christian doctrine and returned early each night to sleep in the hostels.⁴⁵ Thus, unlike Vives and fray Juan de Medina, Pérez de Herrera is against shutting up the truly poor and, like Domingo de Soto, believes that it is best and easiest for those who have been examined and approved to seek their own food by begging, since alms given to the really poor by the rich are the most praiseworthy.⁴⁶ Pérez de Herrera is also convinced that people will willingly give alms to those licensed to beg since they can be sure that those who are being assisted are the truly poor.⁴⁷ In

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 54, “En todas las ciudades, villas y lugares destos reinos...que, en un día señalado, a un mismo tiempo en todas partes, acudan todos los pobres que piden limosna, por las puertas y caminos a las dichas casa y albergues, que ya estarán fabricadas y señaladas en los lugares y partes, o los más cercanos, donde les cogiere la voz y pregón.” (translation from Cruz, *Discourses of Poverty*, p. 66)

⁴³ *Ibid*, pp. 55-6, “...el que fuere manco, tullida, contrechó, ciego, viejo, hombres o mujeres, niños o niñas de siete años abajo, de suerte que casi no fuese persona de servicio ni útil para la república, y otros entrados en edad, que no saben oficios ne tienen otra manera de vivir...A estos tales se les dé licencia.”

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 55.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 56-7.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 62, “...será la limosna más meritoria que diéremos dándose de mejor gana y con certidumbre que se socorre con ella a los verdaderos pobres de Dios.”

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 59.

addition, the less physically able in the hostels could still perform useful tasks: those without feet who knew how to sew could still practice their trade, for example, while others could assist the blind and lame in begging.⁴⁸ In the sixth discourse, there is a proposal to raise supplementary funds by imposing a tax on theatrical audiences of two maravedís per person.⁴⁹

Pérez de Herrera is certain that only a sixth of those who beg will turn up to be examined and registered, stating somewhat unrealistically, that some of those who are undeserving of aid will return to the jobs they had left in favour of idleness, while others might serve in the war for which there is great need, or failing that be punished.⁵⁰ These so-called false poor were the primary objective of his reforms. He notes in the third discourse that the authorities should take great care in investigating the lives of those who are without work and vagabonds in order to make sure that no one is idle in these lands.⁵¹ Therefore each council should nominate each year a *padre de mozos* to take care of those who come from afar, to make sure they don't become vagabonds, and a *padre de trabajadores* in charge of workers. He is to go each morning to the square where day labourers are hired to stop them demanding too high a price for their labour otherwise no one will hire them and give them an excuse to be idle.⁵² Pérez de Herrera also writes that casual labourers should be identified and designated by a representative of authority (*la justicia*). He suggests that this could be indicated by wearing a blue cap, as in Toledo, so that one could better distinguish those who live without work and are vagabonds in order to stem this way of life and prevent vice and robbery.⁵³

Herrera distinguishes between two different types of legitimate poor to be assisted, one type being public, lodged in hostels and identified; another hidden, listed and approved as poor to be helped in their parishes as well as those in prison, captives, orphans and in hospitals.⁵⁴ The second discourse sets out additional proposals about how to deal with the poor in prisons and the many *pobres vergonzantes*, that is those considered to be the

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 58-9.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 199.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 57.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, pp. 98-9.

⁵² *Ibid*, pp. 98-9.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 100, "...se podría mejor distinguir quién vive sin ocupación y anda vagabundo, para atajarle su modo de vivir y reducirle a alguna ocupación, pues es el fundamento de todo, para que no haya vicios ni robos."

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 114, "unos públicos, albergados y señalados, y otros vergonzantes, alistados y aprobados por pobres en sus parroquias, a los cuales amparemos – como es razón -, y a los de las cárceles, cautivos y huérfanos, y los de los hospitales."

shamefaced poor who are in great need but whose good name prevents them from begging in public.⁵⁵ Pérez de Herrera recommends that special brotherhoods should be established to meet the welfare needs of these two categories of poor people. Cruz notes that Pérez de Herrera belonged to the Madrid Hermandad de la Misericórdia, set up in the parish of San Martín in 1594 to aid *pobres vergonzantes*, which was organized along the lines of the *Amparo*'s recommendations.⁵⁶ Doubtless influenced by his experience as physician to the royal jails in Valladolid and Madrid, Pérez de Herrera also suggests that convicted prisoners, rather than being confined in prisons, should be sent instead to serve in the galleys, where they would no longer consume the alms of others and be in less danger of learning new ways to become even more famous thieves.⁵⁷ They would also, of course, be performing a more socially useful function for the state.

In the third discourse, Pérez de Herrera addresses the problem of how to care for children and orphans, especially female orphans who, lacking fathers, are in great danger in a world full of carnal sins.⁵⁸ Abandoned infants and poor children were to be distributed by prelates and the *Corregidor* among wealthy families who will take charge of them and later make use of them as servants, provided they rewarded them for their services. The rest should be placed in orphanages, *las casas de expósitos*, or lodged in the *albergues* along with the poor women until the age of seven. After this, healthy girls were to be married or placed in convents.⁵⁹ Healthy boys aged between ten and fourteen, who at present wander about lost, like many of the young boys portrayed in Murillo's genre paintings, should, according to Pérez de Herrera, be sent to ships or galleys to become sailors (greatly needed by the state) while others would be put to use in the armouries and tapestry factories which would save the king the expense of importing arms and materials from abroad.⁶⁰

So that others, taking as they do our wool and other resources from us in Spain, do not sell and profit from our material that can be manufactured in Spain by Your Majesty's orders, since we have metals and materials for everything, and

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 67, "que por ser honradas y haberse visto en algún descanso y bien, no quieren descubrir sus necesidades mendigando de puerta en puerta, que son en mucho número y de gran necesidad, muy dignos de ser socorridos."

⁵⁶ Cruz, *Discourses of Poverty*, p. 68, *Amparo*, pp.70-5.

⁵⁷ Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo*, p. 79.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 83.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 103-4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 105-6.

there will be enough to occupy part of those who otherwise would be well on their way to becoming vagabonds and incorrigibles.⁶¹

As Cruz notes, Pérez de Herrera's treatise recognizes the importance of the country's youth as a resource which can be used to develop a Spanish military industry: their redemption from vagabondage was seen not just as a method to get rid of poverty but also as a way of linking aid to the vital needs of the state.⁶²

And so that they may become machinists, levellers, and renowned gunners, so necessary on land and sea ...and to make clocks, maps, globes, spheres and navigational instruments and other necessary devices.... And Your Majesty will no longer need to make use for these purposes of people of different nations, subjects and vassals of other kings and governments, or of lands rebelling against Your Majesty, brought over at much expense and lacking our faith and loyalty.⁶³

As a component of his mercantilist scheme which was focused on the industrialization of Castile, Pérez de Herrera advised that the brightest of the poor boys should be taught mathematics, sent to universities, and trained as architects, engineers and artillerymen.⁶⁴ He advises that to produce eminent engineers, who are vital to technological and military proficiency, would serve to fortify the Spanish dominions and assist in conquering others.⁶⁵

Women, however, were to be treated more harshly. In the fourth discourse, Pérez de Herrera outlines a proposal to punish and reform vagrant women in order to recover lost souls by enclosing them in workhouses, *Casas del trabajo y labor*, saying that punishment and the fear of it is of great importance in dealing with those who live badly.⁶⁶ These workhouses should be established in Madrid, Valladolid, Granada, Seville and other major Castilian cities where female vagabonds and thieves would be sentenced to compulsory labour for a variable amount of time, from one year to life,

⁶¹ Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo*, p.106, "Porque, llevándonos de España la lana y otras cosas, como nos la llevan, no nos vendan y ganen con nuestros materiales lo que puede V. M., siendo servido, mandar se haga en España, pues tenemos metales y materiales para todos y habrá disposición con esto para ocupar parte de los que habían de ser vagabundos y perdidos por el camino que iban." (translation from Cruz, *Discourses of Poverty*, p. 69).

⁶² Cruz, *Discourses of Poverty*, p. 69.

⁶³ Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo*, pp. 107-8, "Y para ser maquinistas, niveladores, y artilleros famosos, tan necesarios en mar y tierra... y hacer relojes, mapas, globos, esferas e instrumentos para la navegación, y otros muy necesarios artificios.... Y no tendrá V. M., en tiempo de ocasiones, necesidad de servirse para este efeto de gentes de diferentes naciones, sujetos y vasallos de otros reyes y repúblicas, o de tierras rebeldes a V. M., traídos con mucha costa, y con falta de fe y fidelidad."

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 107-8.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 107.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 118.

depending on the seriousness of their crime, so that they might do penance for their crimes and be rehabilitated.⁶⁷ Pérez de Herrera recommends that the women should be dressed in sackcloth, with their hair cut short, they should be given cheap food, provided with poor beds with a straw mattress and put to work weaving and spinning to earn money to cover their costs.⁶⁸ Pérez de Herrera writes that in a short time there will not be many women in these houses, although there will be a lot at the beginning, claiming:

With moderate food, threats, punishments, and imprisonment of chains or stocks for those who are incorrigible, all will be amenable and humble, enduring the work with patience, complying with penitence and involving themselves in virtuous works on feast days or Sundays.⁶⁹

Pérez de Herrera is sure that his plan for the general reformation of the system of welfare in the kingdoms of the Hispanic monarchy, if properly enforced, will result in rehabilitated people who are good Christians and who will not die in the streets without the sacraments. His plan was essentially intended to reduce the mass of unproductive people begging on the streets and in so doing, produce both a moral regeneration and a valorisation of useful work which would advance the interests of the state. His assessment of the legitimate poor and undeserving vagabonds will be discussed further in chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis in relation to Murillo's paintings of alms-giving and of street children. In the long term, as Cavillac notes, the reforms were intended to allow the country to extract itself from the colonialist exploitation imposed by foreign capital through the development of manufacturing instead of the export of its raw materials. However, when Herrera died in 1620, his dream died with him and according to Linda Martz, the only part of Herrera's scheme which had some lasting success was a Madrid workhouse for reformed prostitutes which still functioned in 1656.⁷⁰ Neither Philip III, to whom Herrera had dedicated his treatise in 1598, nor Philip IV endorsed any drastic solutions to poor relief. The crown was reluctant to devote resources to alleviating

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 120-1.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p.123.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 124, "*Pues con la comida moderada, amenazas, castigo y prisión de cadena, o cepo, para la que fuere incorregible, ninguna dejará de ser sujeta y humilde, pasando este trabajo con paciencia, cumpliendo su penitencia, ejercitándolas en obras virtuosas los días de fiestas o domingos.*" (translation from Linda Martz, *Poverty and welfare in Habsburg Spain*, p. 87).

⁷⁰ See Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain*, p. 90 and note 108, p.244: Martz cites a 1656 crown report on the financial condition of Madrid hospitals which mentions La Galera, a special workhouse for females containing over seventy women employed in weaving and spinning clothes.

poverty and in the seventeenth century, Spain retained its decentralised system of confraternal charity.

2.3. *Arbitristas*: Francisco Martínez de Mata: *Memoriales y Discursos* (1650-1660)⁷¹

Spain's declining economy in the seventeenth century, chronic deficits and the crisis in notions of value, caused by the crown's debasement of currency and the severing of its links with its metallic value, provoked a series of *arbitrios* written by political economists and pamphleteers offering various solution to Spain's economic problems. One of those was Francisco Martínez de Mata, the seventeenth-century *arbitrista* and native of Motril, who was a Franciscan tertiary living in Seville and a self-styled "siervo de los pobres afligidos" according to the introductory title of his *Memorial*.⁷² Neither his birthdate nor the date and place of his death is known according to Gonzalo Anes, editor of the edition of Mata's writings published in 1971.⁷³ Francisco Martínez de Mata's first publication was *Sobre los forzados que cumplen sus condenas en galeras*, published in Motril in 1648, which was followed by *Memorial en razón de la despoblación y pobreza de España y su remedio* in 1650 and his eight *discursos*, the *Memorial en razón del remedio de la despoblación, pobreza y esterilidad de España, y el medio como se ha de desapañar la Real Hacienda y la de los vasallos*, written between 1650 and 1660. In the eighteenth century, Pedro Rodríguez, Conde de Campomanes (1723 – 1803), who considered Mata to be one of the precursors of modern economic theory, published a re-edition of Mata's writings with extensive notes as a supplement to his own *Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos y su formento* (1775).⁷⁴

In her recent study of the conceptual and cultural challenges of money as it evolved in Spain and its colonies, Elvira Vilches identifies Mata as a mercantile writer and notes that the mercantile writings of the seventeenth century examined the interdependence of

⁷¹ Francisco Martínez de Mata, *Memoriales y discursos*, ed. by Gonzalo Anes, (Madrid: Editorial Moneda y Crédito, 1971).

⁷² Martínez de Mata, *Memoriales y discursos*, p.97.

⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 17.

⁷⁴ Pedro Rodríguez, conde de Campomanes, *Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos y su formento*, 4 vol., (Madrid: En la imprenta de D. Antonio de Sancha, 1775-77).

the state and civil society and debated issues such as the intervention of the state in areas of trade and commerce and reliance on agriculture, trade and manufacturing to sustain the national welfare.⁷⁵ Mercantilism also introduced an understanding of value as a relative category determined by estimation and convention.⁷⁶ However, she also points out that though mercantilism formed the beginnings of modern applied economics, this writing was undoubtedly incomplete, obscuring the diversity of economies that flourished within the differing geographical and environmental conditions on the Iberian Peninsula.⁷⁷ Like many other seventeenth-century commentators, Mata discussed such problems as the never-ending outflow of precious metals, the steep decline of a productive population and the ruin of agriculture, manufacture and commerce in Spain. Though the general consensus was that these disorders were largely due to the social parasitism of the *rentier* class rooted in the spread of annuities, for Mata however, the source of the problem lay in competition from foreign imports which ruined national production.⁷⁸

In his introductory notes to Mata's writings published in 1971, Gonzalo Anes also suggests that Mata should be considered an economist, rather than a pamphleteer or writer of *arbitrios*, because of his efforts to describe how the rules of the new economy of Spain functioned prior to setting out his recommended remedies for halting the kingdom's decline and relieving the poverty of its population.⁷⁹ Mata, aware of the animosity toward *arbitrios*, indicated that the terms *medios* or *remedios* were more accurate descriptions of his efforts to reorganize the national economy, encapsulating the notion that *arbitristas* were physicians and surgeons prescribing cures to resolve the national crisis.⁸⁰ Indeed, in his *Lamentos apologéticos de abusos dañosos, bien recibidos por mal entendidos, en apoyos del memorial de la despoblación, pobreza de España, y su remedio*, Mata compares the great purging of people through enlistment, plague and violent death in the previous twenty years to the purging of the human body at a time of crisis.⁸¹ Moreover, he compares the Treasury to the body's heart and says

⁷⁵ Elvira Vilches, *New World Gold: Cultural Anxiety and Monetary Disorder in Early Modern Spain*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), p 214.

⁷⁶ Vilches, *New World Gold*, p. 228.

⁷⁷ Vilches, *New World Gold*, pp 225-6.

⁷⁸ Vilches, *New World Gold*, p 255.

⁷⁹ Martínez de Mata, *Memoriales y discursos*, p. 33.

⁸⁰ Vilches, *New World Gold*, p. 225.

⁸¹ Martínez de Mata, *Memoriales y discursos*, p. 337, "la grande saca de gente por levas, pestes y muertes violentas, con lo cual ha purgado la multitud de gente" ... "pues como el cuerpo humano, que por accidente se le destemplan los humores."

that just as the heart takes most of the best sustenance before other members so, in the case of the body of the republic, the Treasury takes the most in contributions from the factories.⁸²

Mata functioned in a period of maximum conflict in Granada, Cordoba and Seville and contradictions between imports of products, mostly made elsewhere, and local industry had reached a critical point in Seville in the mid-seventeenth century, according to the historian B. Yun Casalilla, the author of numerous works about the stagnation and decline of Castile in the early modern period. Moreover, like much of Europe, Seville was suffering from the political and fiscal problems generated by wars in Europe in the preceding years. As in other areas, cities and towns in Andalucía, including Seville, were hit by a series of significant social disturbances between 1648 and 1652 in which artisans, labourers and peasants made desperate by high prices due to bad harvests, outbreaks of plague and monetary manipulations, joined forces to almost take over some cities for days.⁸³ Mata declares in the title and contents of his first discurso that his *memorial* will provide a remedy for the depopulation, poverty and barrenness of Spain and the means for the Treasury and its subjects to get out of debt.⁸⁴

According to Gonzalo Anes, Mata's proposals follow the standard form for economic *arbitrios* of the seventeenth century: a *sistema* which includes the theme being treated in the title, *razones* or *justificaciones* which present the aspects under consideration, sometimes illustrated by descriptions of historical acts, a proposal of the means to be adopted to remedy the problems enumerated in the *arbitrio* plus responses to any difficulties that might be encountered in implementing such proposals.⁸⁵ In his opening paragraph, Mata argues that employment in skilled work [*las Artes*] keeps the population [*los vasallos*] peaceful and calm, while idle people put the Monarchy at risk of civil wars.⁸⁶ Through craftsmanship [*las artes*], the King's subjects can obtain

⁸² *Ibid*, p. 339, "como el corazón toma lo más de la mejor virtud antes que otros miembros, toma la Real hacienda, como corazón, lo más de lo mejor en contribuciones de las dichas fábricas."

⁸³ Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, 'Imagen e ideología en la Europa del siglo XVII. Trabajo y familia en Murillo y Martínez de Mata' in *La historia imaginada: Construcciones visuales del pasado en la Edad Moderna*; coord. by Joan Luís Palos and Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2008), pp. 235-264.

⁸⁴ Martínez de Mata, *Memoriales y discursos*, p 97, "en remedio de la despoblación, pobreza y esterilidad de España, y el medio como se ha de desempeñar la Real hacienda y la de los Vasallos."

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p 36-7.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, I:1, p. 97.

everything needed for a life without begging or complaint and are able to render tribute to God and taxes to the King.⁸⁷

After citing historical examples of successful peoples such as the Turks at the time of the Emperor Selim, Mata lays out his principal refrain that the unique cause of the depopulation, poverty and sterility of Spain and of the indebtedness of the Royal Treasury is the great error in allowing merchandise from the kingdoms and republics of France, Genoa, Venice, Florence, Holland and England to be consumed in Spain and the Indies. As a result, these countries are overflowing with gold and silver they have obtained without ever owning any mines.⁸⁸

Moreover, Mata notes that the Spanish Treasury is reduced to buying cheap merchandise from foreign subjects with taxes extracted from its own population, thus providing a profit to strangers at the expense of taking it away from its own subjects and depriving them of employment and of their ability to contribute taxes.⁸⁹ He goes on in the rest of the first discourse to provide examples of the damage inflicted on the silk and wool industries in Spain, both formerly major generators of employment and wealth, which have suffered losses through competition from imports, despite the existence of laws prohibiting this.⁹⁰ According to Mata, clothing once produced in Cuenca, for example, now reportedly comes from Turkey and the Barbary Coast.⁹¹

Mata argues for the primacy of manufacturing in preserving power rather than the possession of great riches or the possession of mines.⁹² His central analysis is that manufacturing is essential to add value to the produce of agriculture and increase the wealth of the nation but industry and commerce in Spain have been destroyed by foreign imports. He describes how the value of flax increases in value from 30 *reales* an *arroba* up to 500 *reales* with the application of skill and industry.⁹³ He also cites the

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 1:2, pp 97-8, “*Trabajando en las Artes los vasallos, tienen todo lo que han menester para pasar la vida sin mendigar ni queja y rinden a las dos majestades, Divina y humana, los debidos tributos*”.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 1:6-8, pp 98-9, “*Siendo tan pobres los Reinos y Repúblicas de Francia, Génova, Venecia, Florencia, Holanda e Inglaterra, se han hecho ricos después que se dio permisión a que los vasallos de Vuestra Majestad consumiesen sus mercaderías en España y las Indias, contra toda buena razón de Estado, con los cual se hallan colmados de oro y plata que destos Reinos han sacado sin ser dueños de minas.*”

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 1:9-12, pp 99-100.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 1:21-34, pp. 101-4.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 1: 36, p. 106.

⁹² *Ibid*, VI, 7, p. 145, “*Los Reyes que tienen vasallos industriosos, a las simples materias que crían sus Estados las convierten en oro aplicándoles la industria, con lo cual se hacen señores poderosos sin necesidad de minas.*”

⁹³ *Ibid*, VI, 8, p. 145.

example of painting and sculpture where ingredients worth 10 *reales* can be given a value of 10,000 *ducados*.⁹⁴ In his view, farm work doesn't add extra value to the fruits of the earth, unlike manufacturing and the commercial trade in goods derived from craftsmanship, farming and livestock, which do augment the value of an item.⁹⁵

Moreover, he argues that *las Artes* are the primary means of expanding population.⁹⁶ Agriculture, on the other hand, is a limited method for remedying losses in population and employment suffered by Spain in this period.⁹⁷ If everyone became farmers they would lack consumers for their goods. If manufacturing is reduced in the towns, then the farmworker loses customers for his surplus produce and as a result, will lack money to pay for goods.⁹⁸ If consumption dies away, then commerce and taxes will also cease as a result.⁹⁹

In his fourth discourse, Mata dismisses excessive fiscal taxes as a cause of depopulation in Spain.¹⁰⁰ He considered that a tax levied on foodstuffs was the most equitable tax since it was proportionate to consumption and each person renders taxes according to the powers that he has at the time.¹⁰¹ He also dismisses the expulsion of the Moriscos as the cause of Spain's decline, though Gonzalo Anes notes in his introduction that many of today's historians and economists consider this to be one of the essential causes of the depopulation and economic decline of Spain in the seventeenth-century.¹⁰² Neither, according to Mata, is excessive expenditure the source of Spain's ills. In the fifth discourse, Mata sets out to prove that extravagant spending by kings and their subjects is not the root cause of poverty. Mata praises conspicuous consumption because it benefits everyone involved in producing material for such consumption. He denies that the population has been destroyed by superfluous expenditure and claims that those who assert this misunderstand the way in which expenditure can sustain the honest multitudes.¹⁰³ In his theory, consumption is seen as a fundamental driver of the

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, VI, 12, p. 146, "*Del arte de la pintura y escultura, bien conocida está su virtud, pues a diez reales de ingredientes suele darle de valor diez mil ducados.*"

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, I: 5, p. 98, "*Los labradores no les dan a los frutos de la tierra más ser que el que la naturaleza les dio...pasando a poder de los fabricantes, crece su estimación desde uno hasta ciento, porque se forma su valor intrínseco del provecho que en la fábrica van dejando a todos por donde van pasando...*"

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, I:4, p.98.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, III:6, p.124.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 290.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, II:20, p. 118.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, IV, 1-18, pp 133-6.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, IV, 1, p.133.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, p. 295; see also introduction, pp 55-6.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, V:1, p. 137.

economy, so long as the goods are produced in the country and not imported. The necessities of some are paid through the surplus expenditure of others.¹⁰⁴ Mata cites the example of a wealthy individual who builds a magnificent house, spending a thousand or a hundred thousand *ducados*, then this money is distributed in wages to the poor people involved in the construction of the house.¹⁰⁵

Part of *Discurso* V and all of *Discursos* VI and VII are devoted to proving that the ruin of Spain is due to the importation of foreign products, despite the fact that the ability and materials required to manufacture these imported products are readily available in Spain without recourse to foreign realms. Due to the difference between Spanish and European prices which enabled foreigners to export to Spain at high prices and collect payment in precious metals, Mata also argues that ultimately trade with the Indies was not to Spain's benefit if it ends up in estates in France and Genoa: , “¿de qué sirve el traer tantos millones de mercaderías y de plata y oro la Flota y Galeones con tanta costa y riesgo, si viene en permuta y trueco de haciendas de Francia y de Génova?”¹⁰⁶ As a result of the loss of manufacturing, Spaniards are idle, which is described as a pernicious vice, poor and unable to contribute taxes, giving rise to a risk that they would riot.¹⁰⁷

The title of *Discurso* VI declares that toleration of the French and Genoese in Spain had caused major damage.¹⁰⁸ He warns that little by little the merchants of France and Genoa will bleed Spain dry.¹⁰⁹ The seventh discourse also contains a long list of accusations against the French who have come to Spain, arriving with nothing but leaving laden with the profits they have accumulated by taking over a whole variety of trades from the native population.¹¹⁰ They are accused of all kinds of fraud, sharp practices and of leaving honourable Spanish women without husbands when they return home.¹¹¹ Moreover, these foreigners take alms away from legitimate native poor people, contravening the laws which order that native wastrels should be excluded as enemies

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, V:1, p. 137.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, V 3-7, pp 138-9.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, VI, 24, pp 149-50.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, VI, 14, p. 146.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, VI, from the title, p. 143.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, VI, 20-1, p. 148.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, VII, 3, p.158.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, VII, p. 159.

of the republic.¹¹² The foreigners' major sin, according to Mata, is their desire to acquire without spending what they have accumulated in Spain, making them thieves and killers of the Republic.¹¹³

Mata's proposed solution in the eighth discourse is deceptively simple. He recommends that the protectionist laws nominally promulgated when Spain was prosperous in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella should be implemented and that all crafts and professions should unanimously nominate a person to petition the Council that these laws should be observed.¹¹⁴ He also proposed the establishment of a network of royal banks and *montes de piedad*, a proposal with a long history, according to Gonzalo Anes, and "the most active and daring, if not reckless, banking project yet advanced in Spain" according to Earl J. Hamilton in an article on Spanish banking schemes before 1700.¹¹⁵ Hamilton outlines an arrangement in which firstly, the royal banks would liquidate most of the national debt, refunding the remainder on favourable terms; secondly that profits on the scheme would allow national taxes to be abolished apart from sales tax; thirdly the banks would provide accurate reports on grain harvests, making it possible to relieve dearth in some areas with the aid of surpluses in other regions and import grain in cases of national deficiency; fourthly, that the banks could take over estates and mines for rehabilitation and exploitation if the owners of idle land and mineral resources failed to borrow money to improve them; and lastly that the banks should get involved in constructing irrigation works if the municipalities failed to do so.¹¹⁶ This dynamic role for the banks was, according to Mata, the only way to restore commerce, revive the population and reinstate the Royal income.¹¹⁷

Unlike Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera who had good contacts with the *Cortes* and was honoured with the title of protector and procurator-general of the albergues, Mata was a marginal figure in Seville, a demagogue viewed as a social agitator who organised

¹¹² *Ibid*, VII, p. 166, "*Se han alzado con la limosna de los naturales pobres, que por lisiados, o vejez, no pueden adquirir para sustentarse, y los haraganes, vagabundos de Francia y otros Reinos, como no los consienten en sus naturalezas, andan en España, como en país común, que tiene escala franca, robando la limosna a los naturales y legítimos pobres, sin que nadie les pida cuenta de su modo de vivir, contra las leyes, que ordenan que los naturales que fueren holgazanes sean excluidos, como enemigos de la República.*"

¹¹³ *Ibid*, VII, 68, p. 182.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, VIII, 75-7, pp. 231-3.

¹¹⁵ Earl J. Hamilton, "Spanish Banking Schemes before 1700", *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 57, (Apr. 1949), p.152.

¹¹⁶ Hamilton, "Spanish Banking Schemes before 1700", p.152-3.

¹¹⁷ Martínez de Mata, *Memoriales y discursos*, VIII, p. 107: "*el medio único de restaurar el comercio, la población, alcabalas, millones y demás rentas Reales, públicas y particulares.*"

groups of wailing beggars to pass through the streets.¹¹⁸ Don Martín de Ulloa, Veinticuatro of the city of Seville, denounced his work as dangerous and called Mata a “vagabundo ignorante.”¹¹⁹ Aside from his vicious attacks on foreigners as leeches sucking the blood of Spain dry by grabbing control of commerce, Mata’s work is notable for its analysis of the Spanish economy and his emphasis on stopping imports of finished goods and the importance of developing manufacturing to reverse the decline of the Iberian Peninsula. Work is promoted as the solution to impoverishment and the way in which these concepts are reflected in Murillo’s work will be discussed later in a chapter 5. Above all, as the Spanish historian José Antonio Maravall noted of the *arbitrios*, the writers believed that responsibility for saving society from this critical situation rested in human hands and that intervention was possible, though a positive outcome was not assured.¹²⁰

2.4 The Jesuit, Padre Pedro de León, *Grandeza y Miseria en Andalucía*. (1578-1616)¹²¹

In contrast to Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera and Francisco Martínez de Mata, the Jesuit, Padre Pedro de León, (1545 – 1632) was not a theorist, but nonetheless, he left an invaluable personal record of his work as a preacher/missionary in Andalucía and as chaplain in the Royal Prison of Seville during the years of 1578 and 1616. His *Compendio, De algunas experiencias en los ministerios de que usa la Compañía de JESUS*, written over a period of a year and a half between 1615 and 1616, contains a detailed account of certain aspects of Sevillian society, as seen through the eyes of a Jesuit committed to saving the souls of those least fortunate in that social order. It is an internal report written for the Jesuit Order which was never intended to be published and which gives an insight into the workings of a network of charity in Andalucía which is obsessed with preaching and conversion. The modern edition of one of the surviving

¹¹⁸ José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans by Terry Cochran, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), p. 48.

¹¹⁹ Miguel González Moreno, “Francisco Martínez de Mata (siglo XVII): Agitador social y economista de la decadencia”, *eXtoikos*, no. 5, (2012), p. 99-100. See also Appendix VIII in Francisco Martínez de Mata, *Memoriales y discursos*, ed. by Gonzalo Anes, pp. 483-493, for a copy of the complaint by Don Martín de Ulloa against Mata which is conserved in the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, dated 1660.

¹²⁰ Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, p. 21.

¹²¹ Pedro de León, *Grandeza y Miseria en Andalucía: Testimonio de una encrucijada histórica (1578 – 1616)*, edición, introducción y notas de Pedro Herrera Puga, (Granada: Facultad de Teología, 1981).

manuscript copies of this work was edited with notes and an introduction by the historian Pedro Herrera Puga and published in 1981 under the title *Grandeza y Miseria en Andalucía: Testimonio de una encrucijada histórica (1578 – 1616)*.¹²²

The work consists of three parts plus a prologue and dedication to the Padres and Hermanos of the Company of Jesus. In the prologue, Pedro de León notes that he did not wish to write, but was ordered to record his experiences by his superiors, and set about presenting the reality he saw.¹²³ Part One of the *Compendio* presents a vivid picture of the rural and urban scene in Seville and Andalucía at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Part Two is centred on the Royal Prison in Seville where Pedro de León served as chaplain, while the final part consists of a lengthy Appendix listing details, in chronological order, of the condemned criminals whom he attended before their executions between 1578 and 1616, information about ethnicity, age, reasons for incarceration, and manner of death.

Pedro de León was born in 1545 in Jerez de la Frontera and died in la Casa Profesa de Sevilla in 1632. He studied in Seville in the Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús. According to Pedro Herrera Puga, Pedro de León, in addition to his work as prison chaplain, founded two homes for repentant women, a hospital for galley slaves in Triána, a confraternity in the prison to fight against blasphemy and swearing, a *Congregación de caballeros incondicionales* to take prisoners out of the pool of their misfortunes and another *Congregación* for priests.¹²⁴ At the same time, he was also preaching in the most strategic places in the city, such as la Estación de la Cruz and la Alameda, as well as travelling all over Andalucía from 1582 to 1615, visiting over a hundred towns and villages in the eight provinces of Andalucía, Extremadura and Toledo. Pedro de León says that up until 1615, there was not a year in which he did not go on at least one mission and some years in which he went on two or three missions, bearing great fruit in the harvesting of souls.¹²⁵

¹²² Pedro de León, *Grandeza y Miseria en Andalucía*, p. xxviii. There are four known manuscript versions of the work, two of which are complete: one in Granada from 1619 and another in Salamanca from 1628. The published edition is taken from the 1619 Granada version.

¹²³ Pedro de León, *Grandeza y Miseria*, Introduction, p. xxii, “*que si no fuera por pura obediencia no hubiera tenido ánimo para tomar la pluma en materia semejante, mas púsome por una parte y my principal la santa obediencia, mandándomelo muchas veces, como tengo dicho.*”

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, Introduction, p. xv.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 62, “*para Gloria de Dios sea dicho, con mucho Consuelo mío y con muy gande fruto y aprovechamiento de muy muchas almas.*”

The Jesuits arrived in Andalucía in 1554 and Pedro de León entered the Company of Jesus in 1567, making him part of the first generation of Jesuits to undertake missions in that region. He frequently emphasises the importance of this missionary work, defending, in the first chapter, the preaching of the Jesuits against those who object, saying that in this manner one gains many lost souls.¹²⁶ He observes that taking preaching to the squares, rivers, the gates of the city and other public places, one reaches the poor who are not normally welcomed in churches, quoting from Proverbs:¹²⁷

Wisdom crieth without; she uttereth her voice in the streets: She crieth in the chief place of concourse, in the openings of the gates: in the city she uttereth her words saying, How long, ye simple ones, will ye love simplicity? And the scorners delight in their scorning, and fools hate knowledge? [Proverbs 1:20-22]

Pedro de León goes on to talk about the preaching of the patriarchs and prophets, such as Jonas, and of Christ, all illustrated with abundant quotes from the Scriptures and he notes that the Jesuits go about preaching in imitation of Jesus, “who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him” [Acts 10:38].¹²⁸ He provides an example of the success of preaching from his personal experience of his proselytization in the squares of Seville and describes how, on his very first occasion while preaching in the Arenal, at the door of a hospital called San Andrés, a stranger who had not confessed for eighteen years was moved to confess.¹²⁹

There is a characteristically vivid description of Seville’s thugs and gangs which will be referred to in the final chapter of this thesis about Murillo’s paintings of street children: “*muchos hombres desalmados, delincuentes, inquietos, valentes, valentones, bravotines, espadachines y matadors y forajidos*” who appeared to be beyond the reach of the city’s justices.¹³⁰ He describes bloody fights in *los apedreaderos* every feast day and Sundays which were marked by murders and casualties, and records how people would rush out to the gates of Marchena and Cordoba and to the walls as if they were going to see jousts and tournaments.¹³¹ Gang wars continued in spite of the efforts by the Governor, Francisco Zapata, Conde de Barajas, and his sheriffs, to tackle such fights, such was the

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 24-5, “con esto le toca Dios de manera que se ganan muchas almas de las que ya estaban rematadas y perdidas, como se verá en algunos ejempls.”

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 21.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 22-3.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 27-8.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 29.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, pp 29-30.

strength of these people, whom he describes as barbarous, indomitable and irrational.¹³² Nonetheless, Pedro de León asserts that the great power of God was able to prevail against them and describes how, on the day of Santa Cruz in May, he and some honourable penitents marched to the field of battle with the standard of Christ, and persuaded the two sides to give up their slings, knives, skewers, small shields and other warlike instruments which were collected at the foot of the cross.¹³³ All singing the Christian doctrine, they came to his college, praising the Lord, for: “they marvelled, and glorified God, which had given such power unto men” [Matthew, 9:8]¹³⁴ In an indication that his description of the event is probably true, Pedro de León goes on to admit that never again were his forays to *los apedreaderos* as successful as this first occasion.

Pedro de León also confronts the problem of the public brothels, which were legal in Seville until the Jesuits succeeded in having them banned in 1623, recounting visits to “*la casa pública de las malas mujeres*” to preach sermons on Sundays and on the main festivals. His *modus operandi* was to eject all the men from the brothel, shut the doors, scold them and send them to beg forgiveness from God in the nearest churches. He and his companions sent away any other men who arrived at the doors of the brothel, also telling them that within the brothel is the devil who has designs on their soul and will visit terrible punishments on them.¹³⁵ He also whipped the legs of young boys who came to the brothel, punishing them severely to stop them from returning.¹³⁶ Then going inside with two or three honourable men, he rebukes the women, saying that their parents would surely not have brought them up to end up in this rubbish dump.¹³⁷ Many repent, kneeling before him, begging him with much sobbing and tears, to take them away from such a hell. They are taken to a refuge, the *Casa de las Recogidas* or later the *Casa Pía*, and those who were married are sent back to their husbands, while of those

¹³² *Ibid*, p. 30.

¹³³ *Ibid*, pp. 32-4, “*hondas, terciadillos, cuchillejos, asadorsillos, broquelejos, tapadorsillos de tinajas, y otros instrumentos bélicos...más duras y crueles de lo que se puede imaginar.*”

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 35.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 37, “*aquí dentro está el demonio que os quiere quitar la vida de vuestras almas y aun las de vuestros cuerpos con enfermedades asquerosas y hediondas, causadoras de grandes Dolores y muchas veces de muerte.*”

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 38.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*.

who were single, some are married off while others are put into service in honourable houses.¹³⁸

Pedro de León records that after setting up the *Casa Pía* with the assistance of Francisco de Castro, the treatment of women who repented was improved so that there were more than forty converted women in the *Casa Pía*, whereas previously, the *Casa de Recogidas* had held no more than four to six women.¹³⁹ He goes on to note that they also rescued young lost girls and female children from worldly women who were training them “*para ganar con ellas el infierno*”, and then housed those rescued in the *Casas*.¹⁴⁰ In order for them not to slip through their hands, the Jesuits would go many times to preach sermons made suitable for their age, to confess them and catechise them, until, when they were older, they could place them with honourable and reputable women, secure in the knowledge that they would continue with the virtue already established and securing sureties that the girls would be married.¹⁴¹ Pedro de León notes the success of this venture, adding that it had resulted in much glory for God and for the good name of the Company: “*se ha visto muy grande fruto en estas almas de que ha resultado mucha gloria de Dios y muy buen nombre de la Compañía*”.¹⁴² He also says that there was a *Galera* set up for women who were incorrigible and sent there by the justices as a sentence for their crimes, where some were converted to a better life with the aid of the punishment that was necessary in order to reform them.¹⁴³

Finally, in chapter six, Pedro de León talks about a plan to prevent workers and officials sinning on Sundays and feast days by having the Company’s honourable penitents guarding the brothels at all times on these days, adding, that it is not possible to believe, far less talk about, the innumerable offenses against God that this scheme prevented each day.¹⁴⁴ He also rails against prostitutes trading outside of the public brothels in places like la Madera, las Barbacanas y Murallas, the gulleys and river basins of Tablada and other places in the countryside where men could sin and also be robbed, as

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-4.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-5.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-7.

well as running the risk of picking up illnesses since the prostitutes were women who had been evicted from the public brothels because they had caught a disease.¹⁴⁵

In his history of prostitution in Andalucía, Andrés Moreno Mengibár notes that Pedro de León accepted the existence of public brothels as a given and campaigned instead for the strict observance of regulations governing these institutions.¹⁴⁶ Only after he retired at the age of 71 from the post of prison chaplain and was moved to Cádiz to take up the less onerous job of Rector of the Colegio de la Provincial, did the next generation of Jesuits campaign ferociously for the closure of the brothels, as had happened in Granada.

There are descriptions of the many missions Pedro de León undertook to preach to the ignorant and unconverted who had often not been to confession for many years in the rural areas of Andalucía, areas mostly neglected by other clergy. He describes, for example, visits in 1614 made at the request of the Archbishop of Seville, Don Pedro de Castro y de Quiñones (1534-1623), to the Sierra de Aracena where, he says, there was great need for preaching since the people in the small villages have become savages: “*están hechos unos salvajes*”.¹⁴⁷ He notes that if he recorded every case of notable conversion of souls, he would need to write a very large book, going on to praise the mission of the Jesuits in preaching and saving souls, describing them as soldiers marching under His banner.¹⁴⁸

Pedro de León is harsh in his judgments of people but nonetheless is sympathetic to the plight of lost souls and deeply committed to practical means of resolving disputes and redeeming those lost souls through religion. His observations of how life was actually lived amongst the poorest sections of society are acute and provide historians with valuable information about the workings of brothels, prisons and the underworld in Seville.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁴⁶ Andrés Moreno Mengibár, *Historia de la prostitución en Andalucía*, (Sevilla: Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2004), pp. 99-100.

¹⁴⁷ Pedro de León, *Grandeza y Miseria*, pp. 157-8.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 51-2, “*Somos compañeros de este Señor y soldados de su Compañía, debajo de cuya bandera militamos y hemos dado nuestros nombres para seguirle en esta granjería de almas, haciendo entradas y correrías por diversas partes...en esta santa milicia suelen hacer los valerosos soldados enriquecidos grandemente con los tesoros que les suelen quitar a nuestros enemigos: mundo, demonio y carne.*”

2.5 Seville sermons

Another source of information about attitudes to poverty are the sermons preached in Seville churches during the seventeenth century which are pertinent to the discussion of Murillo's religious paintings depicting acts of charity in chapter 6. The sermons would tend to reflect the viewpoint of the established church, in contrast to the writings of the *arbitristas*, which are essentially campaigning works intended for the king and his court. According to the historian Miguel Ángel Núñez Beltrán, thousands of printed versions of sermons preached in Seville in this period are now held in the Biblioteca General de la Universidad de Sevilla, largely derived from the libraries of the Sevillian convents that were secularized around 1835.¹⁴⁹ In his study of Seville sermons of the seventeenth century, Núñez Beltrán analysed a representative selection of 200 sermons from Seville and an additional 125 sermons preached elsewhere in Spain in terms of preachers' themes, sources, types and Catholic doctrine. For the purposes of this thesis, I examined a small selection of these printed sermons which seemed particularly relevant to the subject of poverty.¹⁵⁰ In the handful of sermons which mention the poor, the sermons reiterated the concept of the poor as a vehicle for the salvation of the rich and powerful, and in funeral orations, preachers praised the dedication of deceased individuals in providing alms for the poor, presenting them as symbolic models of conduct for the congregation. The examples I looked at all dated from the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

Preachers unanimously emphasised the role of the nobility as patrons of the poor and as examples to be emulated. In the 1693 funeral rites for Señor Marqués de Astorga, for example, the preacher cited Romulus, founder of Rome, claiming that after he had made a distinction between nobles and commoners, rich and poor, patricians and ordinary people, Romulus considered that the patron was obliged to look after those entrusted to him with the same love and care that he would devote to his sons.¹⁵¹ The preacher goes on to note that the Marquis, Don Manuel de Guzmán Manrique de Zúñiga, was one of the first Brothers of the Confraternity of the Santa Caridad of

¹⁴⁹ Miguel Ángel Núñez Beltrán, *La oratoria sagrada de la época del barroco. Doctrina cultural y actitud ante la vida desde los sermones sevillanos del siglo XVIII*, (Seville: Fundación Focus-Abengoa, 2000), p. 18. Núñez Beltrán also drew on the work of previous scholars of preaching in Spain: for a summary of their work, see his first chapter, pp.27-32.

¹⁵⁰ See Núñez Beltrán, *La oratoria sagrada*, chapter 2 for an explanation of his selection, especially p. 60.

¹⁵¹ Antonio de Cárceres, O.P. *Sermon que en el Colegio de Regina Angelorum del Sagrado orden de Predicadores, dixo el M. (...) en las honras (...) al Señor Marqués de Astorga (...)* (Sevilla, 1693), f.1.

Seville, that he wished to dedicate himself to serving the poor though he could not, as he would have wished, aid all the poor in the city, and that he was employed in the humble exercise of giving food, caring for and washing the poor, emulating the heroic act of love of our Lord.¹⁵²

In another funeral oration from 1693, this time in honour of Ana Luisa de Herrera Melgarejo (1605-93), a Sevillian woman of noble birth, the preacher, Juan de Gámiz, S.I., praises her nobility, her generosity and charity towards the poor and those in need.¹⁵³ In a passage from the same sermon, the preacher describes charity as a system for atoning for one's sins, through which the rich, by giving assistance to the poor, can have their transgressions turned into virtues when the sins written in the Books of God are examined by Saint John on the day of judgement.¹⁵⁴

Furthermore, the road to salvation for the poor and for the rich is spelled out as being one of acceptance with patience for the poor, and alms in the case of the rich: "*A los pobres salva Dios por la paciencia, a los ricos por la limosna.*"¹⁵⁵

In a funeral sermon dated 1682 in memory of Señor don Nicolás de Bucarelli, a member of a well-known Italian family settled in Seville, the preacher, José de Espinosa, also referred to the role of the poor in assisting the salvation of the rich: "*... como los pobres son los tragineros por quienes los ricos misericordiosos comercian con Dios el cielo.*"¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² *Ibid*, f. 8r: "*ser uno de los primeros Hermanos de la casa de la Santa Caridad de esta Ciudad, quiso dedicarse à servir à los pobres, ya que no podía, como quisiera, socorrer à todos los pobres. (...) empleado en los ejercicios humildes de dar de comer, de servir, de asistir, de asear à los pobres, bien podía decir, que quiso imitar aquel acto heroico de amor de Christo Señor nuestro...*"

¹⁵³ Juan de Gámiz, S.I., *Oración fúnebre en las honras que se celebraron en la Iglesia Parroquial de Omnium Sanctorum el dia diez y ocho de febrero a la muy Noble y Esclarecida D. Ana Luisa de Herrera Melgarejo Ortiz Maldonado Medina y Saavedra / dixola ... Juan de Gámiz, de la Compañía de Jesus ...; sacala a luz, y la dedica al ... señor Don Francisco Antonio Fernández de Velasco y Tovar ..., Mateo Gómez Velazquez, por Tomàs Lopez de Haro, Impresor, y Mercader de Libros,* (Sevilla, 1693), f.6, "*Era naturalmente liberal, dadivosa. Es genio de gente noble. Esta inclinación la hizo en extremo caritativa con los pobres y necesitados.*"

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p.9, "*Redime, compra tus pecados con las limosnas, y tus maldades con los socorros compasivos de los pobres. Como que ninguna otra cosa le hazia falta para conservar su vida, y su imperio, sino el hazerse limosnero... pero q es esto de cōprar los pecados? Todos nuestros pecados escriben en los Libros de Dios, que San Juan viò abiertos para el juicio. ... Los Guardos, y Archiveros de estos Libros de Dios son los pobres: Llega la limosna, socorre al pobre, le soborna divinamente, y él agradecido borra quanto està escrito contra el rico; y quando se vãn à registrar los Libros para la sentencia, lo que le halla escrito es... Tuve hambre, y me disteis de comer. Y en lugar de pecados, se hallan virtudes. Esso es comprar los pecados.*"

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.9.

¹⁵⁶ José de Espinosa, O.P. *Oración fúnebre y panegírica en las honras que en el Convento, y Colegio de Regina Angelorum de esta Ciudad de Sevilla se hizieron a la buena memoria del Señor don Nicolás de*

Prior to this, the prodigious alms-giving of Nicolás de Bucarelli is described in great detail in this eulogy. Overall, José de Espinosa estimated that the deceased gave away around three thousand ducats each year out of an income in rents of five thousand ducats.¹⁵⁷ According to him, Nicolás de Bucarelli was destined for heaven through the justification of his works and observance of the law of God.¹⁵⁸

His acts of charity included donations to a variety of hospitals, help in rescuing captives and providing orphan girls with dowries.¹⁵⁹ The extent of his charity in reaching out to all of the poor in both Seville and the surrounding area is underlined for the congregation by the preacher: “*La charidad, y misericordia en las necesidades de los pobres; no sé si avrá algún pobre en Sevilla, ô en algunas leguas en contorno, que no la pruebe de experiencia*”.¹⁶⁰

The eulogy for the founder of the *Hospital del Pozo Santo de pobres impedidas y desamparadas* in 1667, La Madre Beatriz Jerónima de la Concepción (1618-1696), is another funeral sermon which both reflects on the life of the deceased, and presents the main points of this life as the prototype of a Christian life, an important concept for the paintings discussed later in this thesis.¹⁶¹ The sermon was given by the Jesuit Juan Gámiz who also preached the funeral oration for Ana Luisa de Herrera Melgarejo. Juan Gámiz describes the life of La Madre Beatriz Jerónimo de la Concepción, her mortification, her grave illnesses and her struggle to assist the poor, often expressing surprise at what such a woman had managed to achieve, that she, rather than the rich and powerful of Seville should have founded such a hospital.¹⁶²

Bucarelli, el día 17 de Diciembre de este año de 1682. Dixo el M.R.P.M. (...) en la oficina de Tomás López de Haro (...) (Sevilla, 1683), p.22.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p.19.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p.5: “*transito seguro para mutilicar sus días en la eternidad, y renacer como Fenix, en el nido de sus olorofas virtudes.... La Justificacion de sus obras, su segura conciencia en la observancia de la ley de Dios, la declara el mas fidedigno testigo su Confessor, que à mas de veinte y quatro años, que registrava, y dirigía su conciencia, la piedad,y compassion de su corazón en las enfermedades de su proximo la voceá, y vocearan los Hospitales todos de esta misericordiosissima Ciudad de Sevilla..*”

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 14-17.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 5.

¹⁶¹ Juan de Gámiz, S.I. *Al Varón de dolores, Jesu Christo (...) dedica la piedad devota esta oración fúnebre, que en las exequias de la V.M. Beatriz Gerónima de la Concepción, fundadora de dicho Hospital, dixo el día 14 de diciembre de 1696 el M.R.P.M. (...) por Juan Pérez Berlanga (...) (Sevilla, 1696);* see also Núñez Beltrán, *La oratoria sagrada*, pp. 398-403.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, p. 2: “*Quien esto viere pensará que las riquezas sevillanas, los grandes caudales, los hombres poderosos, los señores con su autoridad, empeño y traza fabricaron esta grande obra: pero se engañará mucho en esse pensamiento (...) Escogió Dios para esta Fabrica una Muger: yá el sexo mismo dize la flaqueza. Y una Muger dedicada, pobre, sin parentela, sin blasones de Linage, sin adornos de discreción, ô eloquencia, sin otros arrimos, ô braços de humano favor; al fin, por todas razones, la flaqueza del*

In addition to the many virtues she exercised during her life, including humility in realizing the lowliest of work, blind obedience to her superiors, meditation on the life of Christ, loving care for those under her governance, serenity and patience in the face of difficulties, Juan Gámiz stressed, above all, the importance of her extensive charitable work on behalf of the needy since this would result in a favourable outcome in front of the divine tribunal: *“quien da al pobre presenta en el tribunal divino una petición que luego sale decretada con el buen despacho.”*¹⁶³ The preacher also attributes three miracles to her which are all linked to her assistance to the destitute, emphasising her closeness to God and the supernatural, and once again underlining the idea that charitable assistance is a medium for reaching out to God and for the salvation of men. The first miracle involved aid to the sick through the multiplication of fifty *reales*, much as Jesus multiplied loaves and fishes to feed the hungry, and the second entailed an empty jar of oil which was mysteriously replenished with oil in response to a request by a poor man, and lastly, in a period of drought in Seville, a ration of wheat which was meant to last a year in fact lasted for three years.¹⁶⁴

Finally, another emblematic model to be emulated was Archbishop don Ambrosio Ignacio Spínola y Guzmán (1632-1684), Archbishop of Valencia, Santiago and Seville and one of Murillo's most eminent ecclesiastical patrons. He was known as *“padre de los pobres”*, like the sixteenth-century Archbishop of Valencia, Saint Thomas of Villanueva, whose virtue in assisting the poor is discussed in chapter 6. The funeral oration in 1684 was given by Fray Juan de San Bernardo and in the introduction, he praised the influence which the Archbishop brought to bear on God's goodwill by leading a procession barefoot through Seville with the sacred reliquary of the Santa Cruz of Jesus Christ, thus stopping the plague which threatened Seville in 1678 and

Mundo: Infirma Mundi; mas en esso acredito su elección: Elegit Deus. Escogió para Fundadora de esta Casa, á la Madre Beatriz Geronimo de la Concepcion.”

¹⁶³ Núñez Beltrán, *La oratoria sagrada*, pp. 499-400.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 400.

causing the floods of 1684 to subside.¹⁶⁵ Fray Juan de San Bernardo also praised the Archbishop's greatness, his nobility of birth, virtues, works and sanctity.¹⁶⁶

As in the case of Nicolás de Bucarelli, the preacher devoted a large part of the sermon to extolling the Archbishop's legendary almsgiving and lack of interest in riches, saying that he fulfilled all the obligations of a charitable prelate: "*Cumpliera el señor Arçobispo con todas las obligaciones de Prelado limosnero*".¹⁶⁷ He is credited with having given aid to tens of thousands of poor people daily at the doors of his palace and is quoted in the sermon as calling on all those wanting alms to come forward and have their needs taken care of:

*Hijos, vengan à mi todos los que quisieren limosna, que à todos he de socorrer; y díganlo à quantos pobres conocieren, que vengan todos, que todos hallaran aquí su racion. Y socorro para su necesidad.*¹⁶⁸

He gave money to hospitals, paying out in a year and a half of famine more than thirty thousand ducados alone to the hospitals of *Amor de Dios* and the *Espíritu Santo*, as well as paying for distinguished doctors to tend the sick in poor neighbourhoods.¹⁶⁹ In addition to giving alms to all those who asked for help, he took care of the so-called ashamed poor, namely prominent people who had fallen on hard times but who could not bring themselves to beg, supporting them in great secrecy and generously spending large sums of money which he handed out according to the status of the person and their needs.¹⁷⁰ The preacher claims that having disposed of all his wealth in assisting the poor, the Archbishop even pawned his Pectoral Cross and Episcopal Ring.¹⁷¹

The Archbishop is quoted as affirming that each one of the poor represent Jesus Christ: "*à los pobres de Jesu Christo se ha de dar lo mejor, porque en cada uno dellos està*

¹⁶⁵ Juan de San Bernardo, T.O.R.: *Sermón en las honras, que la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana y Patriarcal de Sevilla consagró a la inmortal memoria del Ilustrísimo y Reverendísimo Señor, el Señor Don Ambrosio Ignacio Spínola y Guzmán su Venerable Arzobispo. Predicólo el M.R.P.M. (...) por Tomás López de Haro.* (Sevilla, 1684), pp.8-9. See also Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares*, vol. V, pp. 328-9 & pp. 379-381 for another description of those events.

¹⁶⁶ Juan de San Bernardo, *Sermón en las honras*, pp.11-12: "*Fue grande. Y no hablo por su sangre, ni por su excelentísima casa, aunque es de tal soberanía, y de la primera grandeza (...) Grande fue por sus virtudes, grande por sus obras (...) grande en la sagrada jerarquía de Prelado y Arçobispo.*"

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14: "*en el año y medio de la hambre, gastó mas de treinta mil ducados en solos los Hospitales del amor de Dios, y del Espíritu Santo ... viendo en extrema necesidad al Hospital de la Sangre dió quanto lienço le pidió el Administrador para camas, y enfermos, y los sustentó de trigo por tres meses ... para los enfermos pobres tenia señalados Medicos por barrios, pagando los Medicos y pagando las Boticas.*"

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14-15.

representado Jesu Christo".¹⁷² Once again, the salvific power of charitable alms for the poor was firmly underscored by the preacher, saying that on the Day of Judgement, the award for the chosen and for the condemned depended on whether or not one gave to the poor and that for God, there exists no other merit like alms, nor any other sin like the failure to provide assistance.¹⁷³

Over all, Archbishop don Ambrosio Ignacio Spínola y Guzmán is presented as a model for popular piety, the ideal of the religious man and the way to perfection, notions discussed later in chapter 6. Sermons in this period appear to act not only as instruments for emphasising Christian doctrine but also as vehicles to guide conduct through transmitting ideas about values and behaviour compatible with the society of which one is a member, and ultimately, to sustain the existing civil order. It is intriguing that there is no reference in these sermons of the sixteenth-century preoccupation with the need to distinguish between deserving and undeserving poor, the emphasis is on promoting the emulation of charity by the donor rather than any discussion relating to the recipient of charity.

2.6 Don Miguel Mañara

An important patron of Murillo was Don Miguel Mañara (1627 -1679), the Sevillian nobleman turned religious philanthropist and ascetic who headed the Hermandad de la Caridad from 1663 until his death in 1679 (fig. 56).¹⁷⁴ As noted by the art historian Jonathan Brown, in his well-known study of the decoration of the Brotherhood's Church, Murillo's large paintings of six of the seven Acts of Mercy were part of a costly, didactic, decorative scheme for the brotherhood's newly rebuilt church which promoted Christian charity as the way of salvation.¹⁷⁵ The importance of this scheme in Murillo's works will be examined as part of chapter 6 of this thesis. The seventeenth-

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p.15.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.17: "*Al dar Dios, en el día del juicio, el premio à los escogidos y el premio à los condenados, dá la razón porque lo dà (...) que el dar ò no dar al pobre es dar ó no dar à Dios. Deste texto se deduce comúnmente, que para Dios no ay otro merito como la limosna, ni otro pecado como la falta de ella.*"

¹⁷⁴ For the painting, see the catalogue entry by Enrique Valdivieso in Valdivieso, Enrique and Magdalena Illán Martín, *Miguel Mañara. Espiritualidad y Arte en el Barroco Sevillano (1627-1679)*, exhib. cat., Sevilla: Hermandad de la Santa Caridad, 2010, pp. 130-1.

¹⁷⁵ See Jonathan Brown, 'Hieroglyphs of Death and Salvation: The Decoration of the Church of the Hermandad de la Caridad, Seville' in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 52, (Sep. 1970), pp 265-277; reprinted in 1978 in Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp 128 -146.

century history of the confraternity, its hospital and church, which still exists today, has been reasonably well documented by historians.¹⁷⁶ Under his leadership, the Brotherhood's original mission of burying the dead was expanded to include the foundation of a hospice for sheltering homeless men; an ambulance service to take the sick and abandoned poor to a hospital; the construction of an infirmary to cater for incurable and aged men refused admittance elsewhere, plus the Christian education of those living in the hospice and hospital.¹⁷⁷

The inscription over the principal entry to the church specified that it was "the house of the poor and stairway to heaven".¹⁷⁸ However, in the entrance to the church, two fearsome paintings of death by Valdés Leal, *In Ictu Oculi* and *Finis Glorae Mundi*, serve to underline the transience and futility of worldly achievements (figs. 57 and 58).¹⁷⁹ This was a preoccupation of Mañara's, who underwent a change after the death of his wife in 1661 and devoted the rest of his life and wealth to helping the most needy of society.¹⁸⁰ In the principal text written by Mañara, the *Discurso de la verdad* which was first published in 1671, the theme of the inevitability of death and the vanities of life dominates its brief twenty-seven chapters: 'What does it matter, Brother, that you are great in the world if death will make you the equal of the smallest?'.¹⁸¹ The biography of Mañara by Juan de Cárdenas (1612-1684), published within a few months of his death, is prefaced by a portrait engraving of him by Lucas Valdés which shows Mañara holding up a copy of this spiritual work to the viewer with a quote from Psalm 40 around the edge of the engraving's ornamental border: "Blessed is he that considereth the poor: The Lord will deliver him in time of trouble" (fig. 59).

¹⁷⁶ The earliest biography dates from the year of his death, see Juan De Cárdenas, S.J., *Breve relación de la muerte, vida y virtudes del venerable caballero D. Miguel Mañara Vicentelo de Leca, caballero del Orden de Calatrava, Hermano Mayor de la Santa Caridad*, [1679], (Seville: T. Lopez de Haro, 1732).

¹⁷⁷ Brown, "Hieroglyphs of Death and Salvation", p 267.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 145. The full inscription, which is in both Latin and Castellan, reads: "*Esta es casa de el Señor firmemente edificada bien fuvndada esta sobre firme piedra, cvyo fyndamento es la caridad de Nvestro Señor Iesv Christo, casa de pobres, y escala de el cielo.*"

¹⁷⁹ *In Ictu Oculi* depicts a skeleton trampling on the vanities of life and snuffing out a candle "in the blink of an eye", i.e. "*in ictu oculi*", while *Finis Glorae Mundi* shows the decomposing corpse of a bishop with insects crawling over it, a second corpse, reputed to have the features of Mañara, and a hand bearing a set of scales which weigh up man's vices versus his virtues.

¹⁸⁰ Lina Malo Lara notes in the exhibition catalogue, *Miguel Mañara: Espiritualidad y Arte en el Barroco Sevillano (1627-1679)*, that this change was perhaps not the spectacular conversion that is often described, but rather a reorientation to a life serving God, see Enrique Valdivieso and Magdalena Illán Martín, *Miguel Mañara. Espiritualidad y Arte en el Barroco Sevillano (1627-1679)*, exhib. Cat., (Sevilla: Hermandad de la Santa Caridad, 2010), p. 44 and note 28.

¹⁸¹ Miguel Mañara, *Discurso de la verdad*, (Seville, 1679), p. 35, trans. from Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas*, p. 136.

In the *Discurso de la verdad*, the first truth expounded by Mañara echoes his insistence on the brevity of human life, the uselessness of worldly goods, the return to dust of the human body and the notion that after death we and our works are rubbed out of the hearts of men, much as depicted in the two paintings by Valdés Leal.¹⁸² The *Discurso de la verdad* describes two alternative lives, two opposing mountains to be scaled, one which leads to eternal salvation through rejecting worldly possessions and honours, practicing charity and works of mercy, and in the portrait of Mañara painted after his death by Juan de Valdés Leal for the Hermandad of the Santa Caridad of Málaga, he is shown holding the text of the *Discurso de la verdad* while directing the attention of the members of the Brotherhood towards a painting of the Mountain of God in which the mountain is scaled by groups of figures representing the seven works of mercy. The alternative way is the path of the Devil, involving transgression, corruption and evil, which leads inevitably to damnation and Hell. This latter route Mañara describes as the mountain of vanity, the theatre of pride, the court of the great Babylon, enemy of God and companion of the devil and he laments the more than thirty years during which, in his folly, he served Babylon and its vices.¹⁸³

In order to arrive at the mountain of eternal salvation, one has to follow the way of Saint Amboise, Saint Gregory, Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas of Villanueva, fathers of the doctrine of penitence and of serving the poor, who offer mankind glorious examples.¹⁸⁴ Furthermore, Mañara describes the sacrifice endured by Christ and his disciples: at the summit of this mountain is God the Father, then Jesus Christ, his general, naked, bleeding, and in pain, while lower down are the apostles, beset by torments, then at the foot are the martyrs.¹⁸⁵ One must choose the correct path, because when the soul departs the body, a strict reckoning will be demanded of the steps taken on the mountain and everything will be counted.¹⁸⁶ Mañara stresses that if one wishes to have a good death, then it is essential to lead a good life, which, as noted previously,

¹⁸² Miguel Mañara, *Discurso de la verdad*, (Seville, T. Lopez de Haro, 1679), chapter 1, pp. 1-2: “*Memento homo, quia pulvis es et pulverem reverteris. Es la primera verdad que ha de reinar en nuestros corazones: polvo, y ceniza, corrupción, y gusanos, sepulcro, y olvido. Todo se acaba: hoy somos, y mañana no parecemos: hoy faltamos a los ojos de las gentes, mañana somos borrados de los corazones de los hombres ... pasaron, y con ellos, nuestras obras.*”

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, chapter XXII.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, chapter XVI.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, chapter XVII: “*Dios Nuestro Señor en un Monte, cuyo capitán es Christo, que ocupa la cumbre, sangriento, lleno de dolores, afrentas, y desnudez (...) Mira más abajo sus Apóstoles, llenos de angustia, de prisiones, y de tormentos; vuelve los ojos a la falda de el Monte, mira sus Mártires, admira su Fe y fortaleza, tintos en sangre están, escucha sus lamentos y cómo su inocencia pide a Dios justicia.*”

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, chapter XXVII.

involves penance and serving the poor: “*Hermano mío, si quieres tener buena muerte, en tu mana está, ten buena vida, que con buena vida no hay mala muerte, ni buena muerte con mala vida*”.¹⁸⁷

Don Miguel also overhauled the confraternity’s regulations in 1675.¹⁸⁸ These run to fifty-one chapters and the first chapter opens with a long succession of quotes from the Bible about the importance of acts of mercy and providing aid for the poor, thus underlining the primacy of this concept for the Hermandad de la Caridad. There are citations from both the Old and New Testaments, including Saint Matthew’s famous lines which align with the duties of the members of the Brotherhood:

Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world:

For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in:

Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me...

Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done *it* unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye shall have done *it* unto me.¹⁸⁹

From the Old Testament, the following lines from Daniel are highlighted: “Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy sins by righteousness (“*limosnas*”), and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor.”¹⁹⁰

This document echoes the *Discurso de la verdad* in its instructions for the monthly sermons for the Brothers which should ponder the brevity of life, the strictness of God’s judgement, the easy temptations of perdition and, lastly, the attainment of the glory of blessedness, saying that though few follow the narrow path that leads to the Eternal Kingdom and though this path is easily lost, we should cherish sacred alms and the practice of charity to achieve this happiness.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, chapter XIII.

¹⁸⁸ Miguel Mañara, *Regla de la muy humilde Hermandad de la Hospitalidad de la Santa Caridad de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, sita en su Casa y Hospital del Sr. San Jorge de la ciudad de Seville*, [1675], (Madrid: Ibarra, 1785).

¹⁸⁹ *The Bible*, Authorized King James Version, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), St Matthew 25: 34-40; italics are in the original.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, Daniel 4:27. The Spanish quote is “*Toma, Señor, mi consejo, y redime tus pecados con limosnas, y tus maldades con misericordias hechas á los pobres.*”

¹⁹¹ Miguel Mañara, *Regla de la muy humilde Hermandad*, chapter 47, p.144-5: “*Ponderar quan angosto es el camino de la vida, que conduce al Reyto eterno: los pocos que siguen, y con la facilidad que lo perdemos: pintar el sitio, gozo, y duración de aquella bienaventurada patria: alentarnos en la santa limosna, y exercicios de la caridad para conseguir esta felicidad.*”

The regulations provide detailed instructions about how the confraternity should function, including chapters on the process of joining the brotherhood and who was eligible (notably those of “pure blood”), the election of officeholders and the specific duties required of them, as well as what prayers should be said and when. The rules also provide directives about how the poor under their care should be treated with love, respect and humility, and reflect Mañara’s insistence on the practice of charity by the membership, instructing them, for example, to wash the feet of the sick and kiss them before placing them in a bed.¹⁹² The *Hermano mayor* himself must be divorced from business concerns, serve God and above all be compassionate with the poor, visit the Hospice and Hospital daily, see that the sick are fed, make their beds and wash their dishes if needed.¹⁹³

The Brotherhood, its hospice and hospital still function today in Seville as a refuge for destitute men (fig. 60). In Mañara’s time, the hospital was conceived as essentially a place devoted to palliative care for those suffering from incurable illnesses and unwanted by any other institution, one of last resort for the most disadvantaged of men, so that they should not die in the fields and streets.¹⁹⁴ At the end of the ordinances in Chapter 50, Mañara declares that anyone who asks for compassion should receive it: “*El que pidiere misericordia halle misericordia*”, a pronouncement which underpins the overriding spirit of his mission and that of the Hermandad de la Caridad.¹⁹⁵

Mañara’s views of the poor and how they should be cared for are further manifest in a letter (of uncertain date), which was written to a member of the Court in response to a request for his opinion on the opening in Madrid of a type of hospice-hospital called *Ave María*, where all the poor of the city were to be enclosed in order to prevent them from begging in the streets.¹⁹⁶ The principal passages of the letter were transcribed by Juan de Cárdenas in his biography of Mañara.¹⁹⁷ In the letter, Mañara points out that the proposed procedure has only been tried in heathen countries such as Holland and

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, chapter XVI, p. 76-8.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, chapter 37, pp. 111-2.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, chapter 50, p. 152: “*la curación ha de ser paliativa, como limpiarles las llagas que son incurables, ú otras semejantes, porque nuestra obligacion es tener en Casa aquellos pobres que nadie quiere, y no tienen cura, por juzgar son los mas desamparados del mundo... pues (moralmente hablando) si no tuviesen el refugio de esta santa Casa, se murieran por esos campos y calles.*”

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, chapter 50, p. 151.

¹⁹⁶ See Olivier Piveteau, *Miguel Mañara. Vida y leyenda*, (Sevilla: ICAS, Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2014), pp. 100-1.

¹⁹⁷ Juan de Cárdenas, *Breve relación de la muerte, vida y virtudes*, [1679], (Sevilla: T. Lopez de Haro, 1732), chapter XXI, pp. 112-116.

England. In a significant section, he also spells out the view that since the poor are the means for the salvation of the rich, then locking up the poor in an establishment such as the *Ave María*, hidden from the eyes of those rich people, would make it impossible for the wealthy to perform the obligation of giving alms. By what means could they save themselves? Where would Christian republics be if there were no poor? ¹⁹⁸

Mañara, in his exaltation of charity, is essentially adopting a very conservative approach to the plight of the poor, with little thought given as to how their lives might be improved over the longer term, a view which will be examined later in chapter 6.

The above selection of writings on poverty aim to represent a varied collection of approaches to the subject as well as a range of types of material. However, more work could fruitfully be expended in exploring sermons and tracts by arbitristas, in addition to the larger subject of literature and theatre.

¹⁹⁸ Cárdenas, *Breve relación de la muerte, vida y virtudes*, chapter XXI, pp. 113-114: “Estos, muy amados hermanos, que tenéis reclusos con título de política, ¿no son los portadores riquezas en el Cielo? ¿Pues cómo los escondéis a los ojos de los ricos? ¿El pobre llagado, dando voces por esas calles, no mueve muchas veces a los corazones de los ricos? ¿Y detrás de las paredes donde están, queréis que los muevan? ¿La vista de los pobres queréis esconderla, para que se apague en vuestras almas ese poco calor que teníais de caridad?... ¿Qué fuera de las repúblicas cristianas si no hubiera pobres? ¿De los ricos, que fuera? ¿Con qué medios se habían de salvar en la deliciosa vida que tienen, si no fueran limosneros?”

Chapter 3: Networks of Charitable Assistance in Seventeenth-Century Seville

“Multitud de obras pias para hazer bien al necesidad, y pobre.” Gil González Dávila, (1570-1658).

Seville in the seventeenth century, according to the author Gil González Dávila, was “composed of the opulence and riches of two Worlds, Old and New, that come together in its plazas to confer and discuss all their commerce” (fig. 61), and was admirable for its “multitude of pious works to benefit the needy and the poor”.¹ The opulence and riches of Seville’s nobles, merchants and ecclesiastics, who were attracted to the city from all over Spain and the rest of Europe, enabled both the practice of charity, such as the creation of new hospitals, and also the commissioning of works of art by artists such as Murillo, many of which adorned the churches and charitable institutions they had endowed. In order to consider the relationship between Murillo’s representations of poor people and the discourses discussed in the previous chapter, we need to have a firm idea of what poverty entailed in seventeenth-century Seville. In this chapter, I propose to discuss, firstly, the institutions and individuals, many of them commissioners of Murillo’s paintings, who were involved in dispensing assistance to the needy and poor in Seville and, secondly, to examine, in so far as possible, regulation of the recipients of pious works through measures which attempted to control the increasing problem of poverty, a problem which affected all of Europe during this period.

Welfare provision in the era of the Counter-Reformation has to be viewed in the context of the predominant religious ideology. In Seville, religious belief, revitalised and strengthened after the sessions of the Council of Trent between 1545 and 1563, provided a powerful incentive for the practice of charity by the rich and powerful, largely channelled through churches, convents, confraternities, hospitals and special institutions for the confinement of women and children. To treat a poor person without respect or not to give him alms was akin to treating God badly and strongly condemned

¹ Gil González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiastico de las iglesias metropolitanas, y catedrales de los reynos de los dos Castillas: vidas de sus arzobispos, y obispos, y cosas memorables de sus sedes*, 3 vols., (1645-50), vol. 2, (Madrid: Pedro de Horna y Villanueva, 1647), pp. 1-2: “compuesta de la opulencia, y riqueza de dos Mundos, Viejo, y Nuevo, que se junten en sus Plazas a conferir, y tratar de la suma de sus negocios... Multitud de obras pias para hazer bien al necesidad, y pobre”. Translation from Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), p153.

as a despicable infamy by the seventeenth-century Spanish writer and moralist, Juan de Zabaleta (1610-c.1670) in a chapter criticising the game of pelota in his 1659 work, *El Día de Fiesta por la Tarde*.²

As was discussed in the previous chapter, the performance of an act of mercy was a means of acquiring grace, a ritual which communicated with God even as it relieved the physical distress of the recipient. In accordance with the Church's teaching on good works, charity required an act of will on the part of the person seeking to justify his or her soul in the eyes of God through an exercise in mercy. Protestant theology, however, divested the acts of mercy and penitence of their propitiatory character. In the sixteenth century, the apparently unstoppable falling away from the church as a result of the Protestant movement led to the convocation of the Council of Trent in 1545 to 'condemn certain widespread errors, remove abuses and restore among Christian people the peace that they needed if they were to defend themselves against the Turks'.³ The sessions between 1545 and 1563 attempted firstly, to define the content of the Catholic faith against Protestant teaching, providing the first official definitions of the common teachings on justification and the mass as sacrifice, and secondly, to renew the church from within at the parish and diocesan level, in the religious orders and in Rome.⁴ The doctrine of justification through good works was reconfirmed in 1547 in the long and difficult Sixth Session of the Council, declaring in Chapter VII of the decrees' sixteen chapters:

For faith, unless hope and charity be added to it, neither unites man perfectly with Christ nor makes him a living member of His body. For which reason it is most truly said that *faith without works is dead* and of no profit, and *in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision, but faith that worketh by charity*.⁵

² Juan de Zabaleta, *El Día de Fiesta por la Mañana y por la Tarde*, [1654/1659], ed. Cristóbal Cuevas García, (Madrid: clásicos Castalia, 1983), chapter 9, p. 436, "El tratar [a un pobre] sin cortesía es desacato que se hace al Rey de los Reyes: porque el pobre que pide es un hombre enviado del cielo, a que le ruegue de parte de Dios que haga una buena obra. Al que embía el recado ofende quien desestima al recaudador...El D El no darle limosna es villanía infame, porque es ponerse de parte de la necesidad su enemiga, que es la parte más fuerte."

³ Cited in Hubert Jedin: *Crisis and Closure of the Council of Trent*, (London: Sheed & Ward, 1967), p. 5.

⁴ Jedin, *Crisis and Closure of the Council of Trent*, p. 121; see also Nelson H. Minnich, *Councils of the Catholic Reformation: Pisa [1409] to Trent [1545-63]*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2008), chapter 12.

⁵ *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. Henry J. Schroeder, (Rockford, Illinois: Tan Books and Publishers, 1978), Chapter VII, p. 34; the italics are reproduced from the original text. For the complete text of the decrees and canons on 'Justification' see pp. 29-46.

As we shall see in chapter 6, a significant number of the saints painted by Murillo were post-Tridentine saints shown giving alms to the poor, thus providing the rich of Seville with exemplars of charitable giving, as, for example, the case of Saint Thomas of Villanueva (1488 -1555), who was canonised in 1658 and painted by Murillo at least six times.

3.1 The providers of charity

Those involved in charitable endeavours in seventeenth-century Seville included ecclesiastics, doctors, confraternity members, heads of institutions such as the House of Trade and wealthy individuals and, in times of great catastrophe, the secular authorities. This can be seen from the list of council members involved in rescue efforts during the great flood of 1626 which covered a third of the city, as noted by the Seville chronicler Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga: “*Superando la violencia de la calamidad á quanta solicitud pudieron poner atentos y vigilantes el Asistente y Cabildo de la Ciudad, la Real Audiencia, y todos los Ministros que se empleáron en el alivio del afligido pueblo.*”⁶ Ortiz de Zúñiga goes on to describe how they used boats to travel along flooded streets to rescue people and how large distributions of bread to the poor each day were undertaken with great largesse by the cathedral chapter, other associations and charitable individuals.⁷

The *Memorias de Sevilla (1600-1678)*, a vivid seventeenth-century chronicle of events affecting the city from 1600 to 1678, collated and edited by Francisco Morales Padrón in 1981 from manuscripts by an unknown author, also refers to charitable assistance having been provided by both ecclesiastical and secular authorities in 1626.⁸ The author explains how helpless people took refuge in churches in higher places, as well as in the private homes of compassionate individuals, in the Hospital de la Sangre and chapels of the Sagrario.⁹ According to the author, all of these people and those who remained in their homes were well cared through Sevillian charity. The Cathedral canonry hired

⁶ Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales Eclesiásticos y Seculares*, vol. IV, pp. 315.

⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 315-6, “*Discurrían barcos por las calles, en que á los inundados se daba forma á la salida...que á los pobres repartían con largueza grandísima, dándose cada día muchas fanegas de pan amasado, el Cabildo de la Santa Iglesia, y otras Comunidades, y particulares caudalosos y caritativos.*”

⁸ Francisco Morales Padrón, *Memorias de Sevilla (1600-1678)*, p. 52.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 52, “*Toda la gente desamparada se acogió á las iglesias altas, como San Martin, San Andrés, el Carmen, y otras, y á muchas casas particulares caritativas, y mucha se acogió al Hospital de la Sangre.*”

many boats costing from 200 to 300 reales each day to hand out bread. El conde de la Puebla del Maestre and the President of the House of Trade went around churches liberally dispensing aid, as did many private individuals, convents and the Jesuits.¹⁰

Thus, a range of people and institutions were all involved in providing assistance in this instance – the aristocratic conde de la Puebla, the powerful President of the House of Trade, religious orders like the Jesuits, individuals and some churches all gave alms generously. However, in both of these sources, the majority of other entries concerning the provision of charity to the poor and sick of Seville generally record acts by ecclesiastics or members of confraternities devoted to helping the needy.

In 1678, a year of famine and drought in Seville, the *Memorias de Sevilla* finishes the chronicle entry with a lengthy description of copious alms-giving by the Carthusians of Nuestra Señora Santa María de las Cuebas, by the Archbishop of Seville, Señor don Ambrosio Ignacio de Espínola y Guzman, one of Murillo's clients, whose funeral oration was discussed in the previous chapter, and by the confraternity of the Santa Caridad, also patrons of Murillo, and which Murillo joined in 1665, as noted in chapter 1.¹¹ The entry lists in detail the quantities and type of alms distributed, the recipients and the costs involved. The Carthusians, for example, gave out each day 14,000 portions of wheat costing a thousand ducats.¹²

In the case of the Archbishop, the entry notes, probably falsely, that though there was much need, thanks to the assistance of the “padre de los pobres” no one died of hunger.¹³ The Archbishop distributed bread during four days per week, including newly-born children who came at their mother's breast, while the confraternity of the Santa Caridad took care of the other three days.¹⁴ The Santa Caridad was able to

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 52, *El Cabildo de la Santa Iglesia alquiló muchos barcos a 200 y a 300 reales cada día en que daban pan, y sacaban gente algunos prebendados y el dean, en que gastaron mas de seis mil ducados. El conde de la Puebla del Maestre, Presidente de la Contratación, iba por las iglesias repartiendo limosnas muy largamente. Y muchos particulares lo mismo, y algunos conuentos y la Compañía de Jesús.*”

¹¹ *Ibid*, pp 141-2.

¹² *Ibid*, p.141, “*La sagrada religión de la Cartuja en su conuento de Nuestra Señora Santa María de las Cuebas dio limosna de pan a quantas personas iban por ella, y ubo día que se dieron 14.000 raciones, con que ha repartido infinita caridad de trigo, y se hacía cómputo de mil ducados cada día.*”

¹³ *Ibid*, p.142.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 142, “*Después el Illmo. y Rmo. señor don Ambrosio Ignacio de Espinola y Guzman, arzobispo de Seuilla, dio quatro días en la semana una hozaga entre seis personas; no exceptuando ni aun a los niños recién nacidos, que iban a el pecho de sus madres, que hasta a estos se le daba su racion de pan; y los otros tres días de la semana un quarto a cada uno que daba la Santa Caridad, con que aunque era mucha la necesidad, nadie se moría de hambre por el socorro deste santo prelado y padre de los pobres.*”

distribute additional aid as a result of a donation for good works of more than four hundred thousand pesos from Francisco Gómez de Castro, a pious rich man who had died that year.¹⁵

In addition, monasteries handed out bread once a week and visited prisons, while other individuals also gave copious alms, which the report says will be rewarded in Heaven.¹⁶

3.2 The beneficiaries of charity

Who exactly were the recipients of charity in this period in Seville? It is difficult to give an estimate of the number of poor people in Europe in the early modern period since taxation records are variable in quality and unreliable, poor relief records are also patchy and censuses of the poor uncommon. Fernand Braudel has estimated that those living in extreme poverty in the Mediterranean area numbered around 20 percent.¹⁷ Robert Jütte, in his useful account of poverty in early modern Europe, *Poverty and deviance in early modern Europe*, notes that all early modern European societies had an enduring nucleus of poor who were unable to sustain themselves and their family (which he calls the structural poor) as well as large numbers of potentially poor people. He estimates that those who were too old, ill or physically handicapped to earn a living amounted to between 5 and 10 percent of the population in most European towns from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, while those reliant on low wages and casual employment and therefore vulnerable to fluctuations in the price of bread amounted to between 20 and 30 percent of the urban population; beyond this was the ‘background poverty’ of urban artisans, small retailers, middle-ranking peasants or even lower nobility who could easily slip from self-subsistence to poverty as a result of illness, accidents, epidemics, famine or war who constituted 50 to 80 percent of households.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 142, “Y las Pasque de Navidad dio sola la Caridad la limosna todos cinco dias desde la víspera, la qual se hacía con dinero que auía quedado de la hacienda que huvieron para aplicar a buenas obras y piadosas de Francisco Gomez de Castro, hombre muy rico que murió este año, y se dize dejó mas de quatrocientos mill pesos.”

¹⁶ *Ibid*, “A los conuentos de religiosas pobres embiaba un día en la semana pan, otro día a las cárceles. Otros muchos vecinos de Seuilla dieron copiosíssimas limosnas, que Dios premiará en el cielo y en la tierra las aumentará bienes, vida y salud a quien sabe cuidar de sus queridos los pobres.”

¹⁷ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Sian Reynolds, vol. 1, (London: Collins, 1972), pp. 453-7.

¹⁸ Robert Jütte, *Poverty and deviance in early modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 195-6.

In sixteenth century Seville the poverty-stricken had become both more numerous and more visible as a result of migration from the countryside to the town.¹⁹ Though the overall population of Spain decreased during the seventeenth century, falling from 8,350,000 recorded in a census ordered by Philip II in 1591 to barely seven million by 1700 as a result of epidemics, the expulsion of 300,000 Moriscos, emigration to the Indies and losses on the battlefield, there was no decrease in indigence in the seventeenth century.²⁰ This was due, amongst various factors, to a shortage of jobs and the fact that wages did not keep pace with the rapid development of prices, especially the cost of food which rose about twice as fast as those of other commodities.²¹ The historian Henry Kamen suggests that “at least one-fifth of an average Spanish town would consist of the wholly poor or paupers” and if poor labourers without regular employment and no reliable income were added to this number, it might produce a figure of as much as 40 percent of the population.²² Using documents surviving in various archives in the city of Toledo, Linda Martz assembled an analysis of the percentage of poor inhabitants in each Toledo parish in 1561, calculating that the overall total for the city was 19.73 percent which is close to Braudel’s estimate for early modern Europe and to Jütte’s research into the level of those living at the “crisis level of poverty” in Europe.²³

In seeking to quantify the levels of hardship found in Seville, it is impossible to create a single model of poverty or to accurately quantify it in any adequate way, given the absence of reliable statistical information. However, above all, as noted by Juan Ignacio Carmona García in his 1993 investigation of poverty in seventeenth-century Seville, poverty implies an individual who needs help, a necessity which comes from the precariousness of the conditions of his or her life, through a social situation which he or she encounters, through certain physical or mental defects, by reason of age or sex or for whatever other circumstance might cause the individual to require help to be able to survive or to reach a certain dignity as a person.²⁴ For Seville, the historian Mary

¹⁹ Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain*, p. 3; on population growth in Europe in this period, see Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 1, pp 584-91, 573 ff., 604-5.

²⁰ Domínguez Ortiz, *The Golden Age of Spain*, pp. 174-6.

²¹ See Jütte, *Poverty and deviance in early modern Europe*, pp. 27-30.

²² Henry Kamen, *Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century, 1665-1700*, (London & New York: Longman, 1980), p. 276.

²³ Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain*, p. 114 & Table 5.

²⁴ Juan Ignacio Carmona García, *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza: La Otra Cara de la Sevilla Imperial*, (Sevilla: Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Sevilla. Servicio de Publicaciones, 1993) p.20.

Elizabeth Perry uncovered in the archives of the Hospital de la Santa Caridad a 1667 parish-by-parish survey of those deserving of charity, which was directed by Miguel Mañara, the Sevillian nobleman turned religious philanthropist and *hermano mayor* of the Caridad confraternity, whose tract, the *Discurso de la verdad*, featured in section 6 of the previous chapter.²⁵ The data was collected to enable Mañara to best dispense an anonymous donation of almost 23,000 ducados.²⁶ 4096 people were surveyed, with individual mentions of 67% of the total, which is 2,753 cases.²⁷ Perry notes that while the survey is ‘too incomplete and too full of qualitative judgements to permit a strictly quantitative analysis of charity recipients’, it does suggest that women were far more likely to be charity recipients, citing the case of the parish of *Santa Iglesia* where the survey of the legitimate poor listed 261 female household heads and only 13 male household heads all of whom were deemed to be crippled, blind, ill or very old.²⁸ Of the female household heads, many were widows with children; others had husbands listed as ‘captive’, ‘in the Indies’ or ‘absent’ and they lived in overcrowded households lacking in privacy or adequate furnishing. In some cases, the furnishing available to those impoverished families is specified, as for example, a married woman with two sons and an unmarried sister of twenty-nine years living in the calle de Vizcaínos whose house had a little mattress, two bulrush mats and three seats of straw : “*su casa se compone de un colchoncito, dos estereras de enneas y tres sillas de paja*” or the case of a widow with four children who: “*se acuestan en una poca de lana*” or the “*islandesa con una llaga en una pierna, casi tullida, se acuestan en el suelo*”.²⁹ The priest who surveyed a house near the Calle de la Mar noted the bedding or clothing he considered most necessary: María Josepha, for example, who had only a straw mat for a bed was to be given a mattress, as was María Ramírez who “sleeps on a little straw”.³⁰

²⁵ Cited in Mary E. Perry, *Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville*, (Hanover & London: University Press of New England, 1980), p. 172, note 56. See also Mary E. Perry, *Fantastic Fandango: State and Underworld in Early Modern Seville*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, (University of California, Los Angeles, 1977), pp. 261-3; 279-80; 291, note 12; 298-301; Carmona García, *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza*, pp 39-51. Mañara’s survey is in the archive of the Hospital de la Santa Caridad, Estante 4, Legajo 18, entitled “*Memorias de todas las parroquias de Sevilla y de las necesidades y pobres que había en ellas, que pedía el venerable Sr. D. Miguel Mañara para tener cuidado de socorrerlas como lo hizo vivió las socorrió como por estas memorias parece*” (1667) Limosnas repartidas por el Sr. D. Miguel Mañara, carpeta de cuentas y papeles.

²⁶ Jesús María Granero, *Don Miguel Mañara*, (Sevilla: Graf. Salesianas, 1961), pp.445-449.

²⁷ Carmona García, *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza*, p. 40.

²⁸ Perry, ‘Fantastic Fandango’, pp. 261-2.

²⁹ Carmona García, *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza*, p. 47.

³⁰ Mary E. Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), p175.

The survey frequently described those deserving of charity as living seriously and soberly: “*pobre de solenidad*”, and one of the priests who conducted the survey crossed the name Laura de Esquibel off the list because she did not serve God: “*no sirben a Dios*”.³¹ Perry also notes that the cleric who carried out the survey for the parish of the cathedral included an additional listing of fifty-one people described as *vergonzantes pobres*. These were the so-called shamefaced poor, people formerly of a respectable social status who were to be treated differently from the other poor. They were not subjected to begging in public, but instead given charity very discreetly. Some had been nobles; some had held prestigious military and civic offices. Doña Escolestia de Montesinos, for example, was reduced to living on alms in the house of a man who had once been apprenticed to her husband.³²

Carmona García writes that however one computes the figures, there was a profound situation of dependence and precariousness for both married and single women in Seville. The descriptions of particular households in San Pedro, San Juan de la Palma and San Isidoro included those who were sick, blind and disabled and those existing in such abject poverty that they lacked clothes and were therefore unable to go to church: “*sin ropa, no tiene con que ir a ver a Dios*” or “*sin ropa, vive de limosna*” or “*vive en casa de su hija y no va a misa por falta de ropa*”.³³ In the parish of San Andrés, there were a series of poor people, generally women, of advanced age with severe physical problems, generally blind or crippled: “*mujer tullida y perlática, con una hija*”; “*mujer con cuatro hijos, tullida y sin camas*”; “*mujer de setenta años, ciega y tullida*”.³⁴

3.3 Hospitals

Though welfare provision in the centuries following the Council of Trent was based on different theoretical premises in Catholic and Protestant countries, there is some debate in historical studies dealing with poor relief as to whether actual provision differed greatly in practice.³⁵ This debate is outside of the scope of this thesis, but within the Iberian Peninsula itself, there were differences within Castile and the Crown of Aragon

³¹ Perry, “Fantastic Fandango”, p. 263.

³² Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, p175.

³³ Quoted in Carmona García, *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza*, p. 44.

³⁴ Carmona García, *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza*, p. 45.

³⁵ See, for example, Ole P. Grell, Andrew Cunningham and Jon Arrizabalaga, eds., *Health Care and Poor Relief in counter-Reformation Europe*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1999).

in the evolution of processes for providing assistance to the poor and for managing their lives (or ‘biopolitics’, a term first used by Foucault to denote a system of managing the biological life of populations).³⁶ The most representative institutions of poor relief in Post-Tridentine Castile and other parts of Catholic Europe were the hospitals which catered primarily for the poor and those in dire need, such as servants, abandoned children, the elderly, beggars, prostitutes, students, slaves and mad people. In his dictionary of 1611, Sebastián de Covarrubias defined hospitals as places where “they treat fevers, wounds, syphilis, the insane and foundling children”.³⁷ Hospitals symbolized a pious desire to furnish physical and spiritual care for God’s poor and, possibly more importantly, a means for those with some wealth to save their souls. As noted by Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham in their introductory chapter to a study devoted to healthcare and poor relief in Southern Europe, the amalgamation of small hospitals into one or two large general hospitals was begun in Italy and the Crown of Aragon in the fifteenth century but did not materialize in Castile until the late sixteenth century in the reign of Philip II, who was a strong supporter of the process.³⁸ According to Linda Martz who carried out a detailed study of welfare reforms in sixteenth-century Toledo, the difficult process of hospital consolidations was “sponsored, supported and executed by the combined forces of church and crown”.³⁹ This development, however, never became permanent or universal in Castile in contrast to the large multi-purpose hospitals created in Barcelona, Zaragoza and Valencia in the Crown of Aragon which consolidated revenue and services for the poor and for foundlings in each of the three cities into one large central institution during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁴⁰ By 1592, as a result of local opposition, especially from confraternities who stood to lose out from the vast reassignment of money and property dedicated to pious works and poor relief, there were moves to split up some of the consolidated hospitals in Castile, although the General Hospital of Madrid founded in 1581 survived, partly due to the limited strength of the Madrid

³⁶ See Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Volume 1: Introduction and trans. by Robert Hurley, (New York: Vintage, 1980), pp. 135-157; Michel Foucault, “Society Must be Defended” *Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-76*, eds. Mauro Bretani and Alessandro Fontana, trans. by David Macey, (London: Penguin, 2003), pp. 239-264.

³⁷ Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua castellana o española* (1611), edited by Felipe C. R. Maldonado. (Madrid: Castalia, 1995), p. 648.

³⁸ Grell, Cunningham, and Arrizabalaga, eds., *Health Care and Poor Relief*, p. 12.

³⁹ Linda Martz, *Poverty and welfare in Habsburg Spain*, pp. 64 & 85-6.

⁴⁰ María Luz López Terrada and Tayra Lanuza Navarro, *Los Estudios Históricos Sobre El Hospital General de Valencia*, (Valencia: Fundació Hospital Reial i General, 2007), p. 22.

confraternities.⁴¹ In the seventeenth century, the Hapsburg kings who succeeded Philip II lacked interest in Philip's projects for poor relief. Due to the growing financial difficulties of the Spanish Crown, Castilian hospitals largely remained decentralised and under the control of the Church or confraternities, with Tridentine legislation promoting supervision by bishops of the services, expenditures and administrators of charitable institutions.⁴²

In Seville, the number of hospitals existing in the 1580s was estimated to be 112.⁴³ In the year 1587, Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga reported in his *Anales Eclesiásticos y Seculares de la Muy Noble y Muy Leal Ciudad de Sevilla* published in 1677 that the Cardinal Archbishop of Seville, Rodrigo de Castro, succeeded in his struggle to reduce the multitude of hospitals to two centres for treating the sick: the Amor de Dios and Espíritu Santo but also gave details of a further sixteen hospitals which were untouched by the consolidations.⁴⁴ Linda Martz noted that the rents, properties and spiritual obligations of seventy-five small hospitals were fused into the two institutions, with Amor de Dios treating poor males suffering from non-contagious fevers and Espíritu Santo, which was a new, recently-built hospital of Saint John-of-God, dealing with both male and female patients with contagious diseases. The hospitals left out of the amalgamations were hospitals of the crown, the cathedral chapter, the city council or wealthy private establishments offering adequate hospitality.⁴⁵ Martz also states that a 1598 report indicates that Amor de Dios and Espíritu Santo were fully operative and well-endowed: 'The Amor de Dios had a total income of 4,862,000 *maravedís*, of which 3,211,580 was available to treat the 100 to 130 patients suffering from non-contagious diseases. The Espíritu Santo possessed 4,040,180 *maravedís* with 2,725,725 *maravedís* left to treat the 100 hospitalized patients, in addition to the 60 people who lived at home and came to the hospital in the morning for treatment.'⁴⁶ Both hospital centres incorporated a

⁴¹ Teresa Huguet-Termes, Jon Arrizabalaga, and Harold J. Cook, eds., *Health and Medicine in Hapsburg Spain: Agents, Practices, Representations, Medical History*, Supplement No. 29, (London: The Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine at UCL, 2009), p. 73.

⁴² Martz, *Poverty and welfare in Habsburg Spain*, p. 45. See also Grell, Cunningham and Arrizabalaga, eds., *Health Care and Poor Relief*, pp. 170-1.

⁴³ Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 732, cited in Martz., *Poverty and welfare in Habsburg Spain*, p. 79.

⁴⁴ Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales Eclesiásticos y Seculares de la Muy Noble y Muy Leal Ciudad de Sevilla*, tomo IV, pp. 123-139.

⁴⁵ Martz, *Poverty and welfare in Habsburg Spain*, p. 79.

⁴⁶ Martz, *Poverty and welfare in Habsburg Spain*, p. 80

number of administrative, religious and health care positions, which were appointed by the archbishop of Seville.⁴⁷

In his examination of the extensive world of poverty in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Seville, Carmona García used hospital record books of sick people entering and leaving the Amor de Dios in order to elicit more information about the grade of debility and penury of the unfortunates treated in hospitals. In contrast to Martz, he noted that, though Seville possessed a good number of hospitals, they had insufficient resources, scant capacity to provide assistance and, in his view, provided not health care but rather more in the nature of religious or charitable care.⁴⁸ For the hospital of Amor de Dios, situated in San Andrés, there are twenty eight surviving record books of entrances and departures covering the years from 1593 to 1702, albeit with some gaps, which generally gave information as to the day of entry, name, civil status, origin, name of parents if known, clothes, objects and money belonging to the person at the point of entry as well as a note of whether they returned or died against the date of departure.⁴⁹ The entries are varied and include soldiers, blacks, the young, old, students and workers, generally from areas outside of Seville, mostly without money. Priests also appear with frequency. Dress was generally identified as very old and worn, often rags or second-hand, as indicated in entries for 20-23 February 1593, which included Pedro Amor, a man from Galicia who was single, lacking a shirt and without money; Gaspar Fernández, a married freed slave from Lisbon dressed mostly in rags who possessed one real, and Pedro de Mendoza, an unmarried man from the Canaries who was also without money, all of whom were reported to have left the hospital healthy.⁵⁰

Carmona García also provided a useful table for the years 1593-1652 (with some years missing) listing the number of hospital admissions each year, the average monthly entrances within that year, the annual number of deaths and the percentage of those

⁴⁷ Carmona García., *El Sistema de Hospitalidad Pública*, pp. 249-53.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p 57.

⁴⁹ Archivo Histórico de la Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, Amor de Dios, libros según fechas de entradas, cited in Carmona García, *El Sistema de Hospitalidad Pública*, pp. 57-63.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, pp 58-59: “En veinte de febrero entró Pedro Amor. Soltero, natural de Canarcos en Galicia, hijo de Pedro Amor y de Teresa Hernández, con capote de sayal, lo demás andrajos, sombrero, sin camisa y sin dinero. En diecisiete de marzo salió sano.

En este día veintiuno entró Gaspar Fernández, negro, casado con María de la Cruz, natural de Lisboa, hijo de Simón Fernández y de Catalina Fernández, difuntos, con capa parda vieja, calzón negro, sayo negro, lo demás andrajos, y un real. En siete de marzo salió sano.

En este día veintidós entró Pedro de Mendoza, soltero, natural de El Realejo de Abajo en Canaria, calzón y ropilla de negro viejo, medias de punto pardas, camisa, sombrero, cuello, sin dinero, en cuatro de marzo salió.”

admitted who died.⁵¹ The annual number of admissions in the first half of the seventeenth century fluctuates between a peak of 3,059 in 1617 and a low of 1,766 in 1628 with a steep drop to around 900 in the plague year of 1649. The percentage of those who died hovers between 15 and 20%. Carmona García notes that the origins of those admitted are an example of the great mobility of the needy since the majority were not from Seville or Andalucía. The books record a strong presence of people from the north of the peninsula (Gallegos, Asturianos, Leoneses, Vizcaínos) and from abroad, especially Portugal, France and Italy.⁵²

Mary Elizabeth Perry provided similar information for the Hospital de las Cinco Llagas, commonly known as “Sangre”, which became a major institution that cared for sick females of all ages.⁵³ This magnificent building, furnished with a splendid church decorated with eight paintings of richly dressed female saints by Francisco de Zurbarán (1598-1664), provided shelter for 300 people and fell under the direct jurisdiction of the Pope.⁵⁴ Situated just outside of the city walls near to the Gate of the Macarena, it was founded in 1500 with the aid of an endowment from Don Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, first marqués de Tarifa, so that the work of his mother, Catalina de Ribera, who had converted a house that she owned into a hospital for poor women, might be continued, a fine example of a wealthy individual using their riches to save their soul as well as delivering assistance for the less fortunate. The large hospital staff included an administrator, a mayordomo, secretary, curates, sacristans, medics, surgeons, *boticario*, *barbero*, *despensero*, *madre mayor*, *madre ropera*, *madre panetera*, *enfermera mayor* with five assistants, and a *madre de cirugía* with three assistants. The women and girls who came to the hospital lacked any other option for care. The admissions book of 1605, for example, recorded the arrival of Polonia de la Cruz and María de los Angeles who came as “daughters of the Church”, a term used to denote “fallen women”, either illegitimate girls or abandoned women.⁵⁵ Many of the women were widows or unmarried, but a significant number were married: in 1605, 44 percent were listed as married and 36 percent in 1655, which contrasts with the records for the men admitted

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 61.

⁵² *Ibid*, p.62.

⁵³ See Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, pp.155-7.

⁵⁴ For Zurbarán's paintings and works by other artists to be found in the church, see Francisco Collantes de Terán, *Los establecimientos de caridad de Sevilla*, [1884], (Seville: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2009), pp. 199-200.

⁵⁵ Archivo de la Diputación de la Provincia de Sevilla, Hospital de las Cinco Llagas, Legajo 243, cited in Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, p157.

to the Hospital del Amor de Dios of whom less than 25 percent were married in 1600 and 1655.⁵⁶

3.4 Confraternities

Confraternities were an important component in the network of charitable assistance in Seville during this period, as is clear from the reports in the Seville chronicles quoted in section 1 of this chapter. A variety of institutions served the needs of specific groups: the Niños de la Doctrina, Hospital de San José para Niños Expósitos and la Casa hospital par Niños Huérfanas catered for poor or orphaned children; confraternities such as the Casa de Misericordia and Cofradía de Vera Cruz provided dowries to girls at risk; and hospitals like the Santa Caridad, Hospital de los Venerables Sacerdotes and Hospital de los Inocentes cared for the aged, lame and infirm.⁵⁷ As noted previously, the Santa Caridad confraternity in Seville is credited in the *Memorias de Sevilla* in 1678, a time of drought and famine in Seville, with having supplied more than 20,000 people with bread and spent more than 100,000 ducats on alms thanks to a large bequest which the charity received from Francisco Gómez de Castro.⁵⁸ Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga recorded in his *Anales Eclesiásticos y Seculares*, a long report in 1661 praising the confraternity's good deeds such as taking the sick to hospitals, giving out alms at the doors of the Santa Iglesia on feast days, their distribution of bread, money and clothes and their receipt of frequent and often large donations which they then allocate to the poor.⁵⁹ As was discussed in section 6 of chapter 2, the confraternity was originally founded to bury the dead, a basic duty of most confraternities, but from 1663, under the leadership of Miguel Mañara, the Brotherhood's mission was expanded to include the foundation of a hospice to shelter and feed the homeless, an infirmary to cater for the incurable and the aged refused admittance elsewhere and, of course, the Christian education of those living in the hospice and hospital.⁶⁰ Membership was limited

⁵⁶ Archivo de la Diputación de la Provincia de Sevilla, Hospital del Amor de Dios, Libros 22 and 46, cited in Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, p157.

⁵⁷ Lisa Duffy-Zeballos, *Murillo's Devotional Paintings and the Late Baroque Culture of Prayer in Seville*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, (New York University, 2007), p. 273.

⁵⁸ Morales Padrón, ed., *Memorias de Sevilla (1600-1678)*, p. 141-2.

⁵⁹ Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales Eclesiásticos y Seculares de la Muy Noble y Muy Leal Ciudad de Sevilla*, tomo IV, pp. 143-46.

⁶⁰ Jonathan Brown, "Hieroglyphs of Death and Salvation: The Decoration of the Church of the Hermandad de la Caridad, Seville" in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 52, (Sep. 1970), p 267.

through *limpieza de sangre*, a process of establishing Catholic identity, to people of wealth who were “an old Christian of clean and honourable ancestry, without Moorish, Negro or Jewish blood” and was drawn largely from Seville’s upper-class and aristocracy, amongst whom were several wealthy individuals who commissioned work from Murillo. The Church of the Brotherhood was also decorated with eight paintings by Murillo which were part of a didactic decorative scheme that promoted Christian charity as the way of salvation. In the revised *Regla*, Mañara underlined this aspect of membership, proclaiming: “Let us serve God with our persons. The same difference exists between us and our goods as between works done by ourselves and those which proceed only from our wealth”.⁶¹ The *Regla* also obliged every member to arrange the transportation to hospital of any sick man found lying neglected in the city, reminding members “that Christ is under those rags” and “however wounded or disgusting he may be they will not turn their faces, but with fortitude will offer that mortification to God”.⁶²

3.5 Institutional controls

However, charity is also a tool for reordering society to include the poor. Implicit in the charitable work of the brothers is an idea of social control. This is unsurprising, given that the city of Seville had almost been overwhelmed by a popular uprising in 1652 due to rising bread prices following a terrible harvest. On that occasion, the chronicler of the *Memorias de Sevilla* reported that loyal neighbours, that is all good people, formed armed bodies of civil guards to defend their neighbourhoods and guard the bridges: “*Los vezinos leales, que fue toda la gente de bien, para quitar tantas vezaciones... se recogieron en sus collaciones y barrios, formando en ellos cuerpos de guardia*”.⁶³ After a truce was negotiated, the ringleaders of the revolt were hanged.

Growing levels of poverty throughout the region fostered a perception of the poor as a social problem and possible threat both to public order and to health through the spread

⁶¹ Miguel Mañara, *Regla de la muy humilde Hermandad de la Hospitalidad de la Santa Caridad de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, sita en su Casa y Hospital del Sr. San Jorge de la ciudad de Seville*, (Seville, 1868, 1st ed. Seville, 1675), pp. 10-11.

⁶² Mañara, *Regla*, pp. 40 & 60.

⁶³ Morales Padrón, ed., *Memorias de Sevilla (1600-1678)*, p. 131-2; see also the long account in Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales Eclesiásticos y Seculares*, vol. V, pp.76-101; and Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Alteraciones Andaluzas*, (Madrid: Narcea, S. A. de Ediciones, 1973).

of disease, as in the treatise by Pérez de Herrera in chapter 2, in contrast to the idea of the poor as individuals who were materially and spiritually complementary to the rich.⁶⁴ Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, repeated efforts were made to control begging by issuing licenses to those deemed sufficiently needy, with very severe penalties for those found begging without a license.

Francisco de Ariño, a resident of Triana, recorded in his chronicle of events in Seville from 1592 to 1604, how the municipal authorities gathered more than 2000 poor men and women in the square of the Hospital de la Sangre to issue beggars' licenses in 1597, a legal process overseen by doctors with severe penalties of a hundred lashes for those caught begging without a license.⁶⁵ There were reportedly an infinite number of women present on the first occasion while men were processed on the following day. The poor were described as being a mixture of healthy people, old people, some crippled and some with sores.⁶⁶ Those licensed to beg for alms received a small placard to hang round their neck. Of the sick men, those who were incurable were sent to hospital while the lame, those who were handicapped with one arm, the paralytic and the old were all given placards licensing them to beg. The rest were given three days to find work and if found begging, then they would receive "alms" on their backs!⁶⁷

The *Memorias de Sevilla (1600 – 1678)* reported that there were 600 beggars recorded in Seville in 1641, a figure which is probably an underestimate since able-bodied vagabonds would be unlikely to present themselves on such an occasion: "*Ordenóse a los jurados que se informasen por sus parroquias de los vagamundos, y mal hazer, aunque fuesen casados. Hízose ante escribano, y assi se quedó. Auía de dar Seuvilla 600 hombres.*"⁶⁸

⁶⁴Huguet-Termes, Arrizabalaga and Cook, eds., *Health and Medicine in Hapsburg Spain*, pp. 69-70.

⁶⁵ Francisco de Ariño, *Sucesos de Sevilla de 1592 a 1604 recogidos de Francisco de Ariño, vecino de la ciudad en el barrio de Triana*, (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1993), pp. 45-7.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 45-6: *Mandó su señoría echar bando que todos los pobres, así mugeres como hombres, el día siguiente en la tarde fuesen todos y pareciesen en el campo del hospital de la Sangre... había más de dos mil pobres, unos sanos y otros viejos, y otros cojos y llagados, y mujeres infinitas, que se cubrió todo el campo y los patios del hospital y a las dos de la tarde fue su señoría acompañado de mucha justicia y con él muchos médicos...*

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 47: *"allí les miraban las enfermedades que tenían y al que era incurable lo mandaban al hospital y a los demás que tenían cura y a los cojos y mancos y perláticos y viejos les iban dando una de las tabillas susodichas, y a los demás echó bando, que dentro de tres días buscasen en qué trabajar, y al que hallasen pidiendo sin licencia le daban limosna en las espaldas."*

⁶⁸ Morales Padrón, ed., *Memorias de Sevilla*, p. 93.

In 1675, a registry of 231 people licensed to beg in Seville listed 69% as being 60 years or older and almost double the number of men compared to women.⁶⁹ The examination was undertaken in la casa Lonja and under the court of Fieles Ejecutores, presided over by a member of the Council with the advice of a licensed doctor. Once again, the account is likely to be incomplete, representing only those with the greatest impediments or physical disabilities. Children, youngsters, frauds and other unfortunates who could theoretically work would probably have stayed out of reach of municipal control. However, the survey does yield some information about beggars as to their sex, age, origin, physical aspect and the cause of their woeful state. Of the 231 people with licenses, the most common afflictions listed were being crippled (74 people) and blindness (42), followed by 13 people with urinary illness. Many were transients or immigrants, with 137 of the 231 entries representing people who had come from outside the province of Seville: 26% were from Seville, 14% from Seville province, 14% from neighbouring provinces, 33% from the rest of Spain and 13% from abroad (mostly men and the majority from Portugal). For those from the rest of Spain, the largest numbers were from Galicia, (15 men and 15 women), followed by Meseta (Castilla, León, La Mancha, Caceres y La Rioja).⁷⁰ The high number of people from areas remote from Seville indicates the attraction the city exercised even in the second half of the 17th century as a final destination for beggars and vagabonds and also demonstrates why the authorities felt there was a requirement to control migration.

The need to manage destitute children in sixteenth and seventeenth century Seville in order to mitigate the danger they presented to society gave rise to the foundation of establishments for poor children called Casas de la Doctrina Cristiana. These were set up in order to remedy the ruin of young orphans, vagabonds and helpless children, to provide schooling in good habits and doctrine in order to prevent them posing a threat to the well-being of the city, since, once they were adults, they were perceived as being untameable, a danger to the public wellbeing and perverters of good habits, as set out in the opening of Petition 206 made to the Cortes of 1548.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Archivo Municipal de Seville, Siglo XVII, Sección 4, *Escrituras de Cabildo*, Tomo 29, No. 9 cited in Perry, *Fantastic Fandango*, p. 259-60 and note 10, p.290; see also Carmona García, *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza*, pp. 53-56 which deals with the same material.

⁷⁰ Perry, *Fantastic Fandango*, p. 263; Carmona García, *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza*, pp.54-5.

⁷¹ Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, s. XVI, t.12, no 3, cited in Carmona García, *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza*, p. 96: “Decimos que en estos reinos de seis años a esta parte personas piadosas han dado orden que haya colegios de niños y niñas deseando poner remedio a la gran perdición que de vagabundos,

Carmona García suggests that the proposed regime for the children was determined by a conservative, authoritarian mentality and a rigid belief in the morality of established customs. This was grounded in religious ideology and the idea of dominating the poor, as well a belief in shaping young people to be good Christians. The authorities intended that the programme of indoctrination in the Casas should be inspected to make sure that neither words, writings nor conduct should offend prevailing morals.⁷² He notes that the sixteenth-century chronicler of Seville, Alonso de Morgado, mentions the existence of an establishment of los Niños de la Doctrina for orphans in Seville, of whom there were many, from around 1540 and that Morgado praises the socio-religious goals of this institution which were to instruct these orphans in the Christian Doctrine, teach them to read, write, sing and count, to provide for basic needs, that is food, clothes and shoes, and treat their illnesses, for a period of five years.⁷³

However, Carmona García is of the opinion that the reality was one of deficiencies in all aspects, especially given the excessive numbers of destitute children concentrated in the city, and he reproduces the accounts for la Casa de la Doctrina from 1585 which show an income of 528,402 *maravedís* that was far outstripped by expenses of 704,084 *maravedís*.⁷⁴ A similar situation of lack of resources and inability to look after the charges existed with regard to establishments for girls and foundlings in Seville. Care, ideally, consisted of a system of control through basic religious and moral education, rules of conduct and confinement, with the aim that the girls would be kept away from bad company and ultimately, would be placed in domestic service or enter a monastery as laid out in the instructions for the administration of the Casa de las Niñas Huérfanas in 1607 by Don Diego de Portugal and Marco Antonio de Alfaro.⁷⁵

huérfanos y niños desamparados había... suplicamos a V.M. mande dar algún remedio ... porque habiéndose criado en libertad de necesidad han de ser cuando grandes, gente indomable, destruidora del bien público, corrompedora de las buenas costumbres e inquietadora de las gentes y pueblos.”

⁷² Carmona García, *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza*, p. 99.

⁷³ Alonso de Morgado: *Historia de Sevilla*, p. 372, cited in Carmona García, *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza*, p. 103: “Con la renta que les han ido dejando personas devotas y con las ordinarias limosnas resplandece esta santa memoria en notable remedio y amparo de estos niños huérfanos, que siempre hay muchos de ellos, llamados, comúnmente de la Doctrina por la que en esta Casa se les enseña, y a leer, escribir, cantar y contar, con de comer, vestir, calzar y en sus enfermedades todo lo necesario, por tiempo de cinco años, al cabo de los cuales se les d estudio o les ponen al oficio o estado a que su inclinación les llama, que más honroso sea.”

⁷⁴ Archivo Histórico de la Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, Espíritu Santo, sección cuentas, leg. 129 de la vieja ordenación, cited in Carmona García., *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza* p.101-3.

⁷⁵ Quoted in Carmona García, *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza*, p. 124: “Lo primero se encarga particularmente al administrador que con mucho cuidado y diligencia inquiera y sepa las niñas y doncellas huérfanas pobres que estuvieren en casa y partes sospechosas donde se puede entender que

However, one of the official inspections of the institution in the first decade of the seventeenth century attacked the inhumane treatment of the inmates. Judge Gaspar Díaz and Don Pedro Tello de Guzmán, the municipal representative, denounced the terrible reality of the Casa de las Niñas Huérfanas, complaining that the girls admitted to the centre were badly cared for, there being no record book of the girls' entrances and exits nor of expenditure on food and clothing, that alms were squandered, and that the children were badly clothed to such an extent that they could not have been worse off on the streets, and as a result, the institution provided no benefit to the republic.⁷⁶ Doctor Alonso de Roca, in a memorial to the city council in 1612 also complained of the economic penury and bureaucratic disorder which he had found in the Casa.⁷⁷

Despite the rhetoric of the religious imperative to charitable assistance in seventeenth-century Seville, this picture of dismal want and failure reflects a desire on the part of the wealthy members of society not to cure poverty, but rather to manage the poor and the sick by including them in society through networks of welfare assistance and reducing the threat they represented to the established order. The extent to which Murillo's paintings of charity colluded in this view of the poor and the sick will be discussed in chapter 6.

corren riesgo sus personas por alguna causa y respecto, y haga mucha instancia para traerlas y recogerlas en la casa donde estén, excusando la mala compañía y el peligro que puedan tener, para que con el ejemplo de la vicaria y encerramiento de aquella casa estén industriadas en toda honestidad, doctrina y buenas costumbres y dispuestas para servir y mejor a Nuestro Señor."

⁷⁶ Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, s. XVII, t. 24, no 5, cited in Carmona García, *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza* p. 125: "*Que en ninguna cosa hay orden, cuentas ni razón, porque no hay libro de la entrada ni salida de las niñas ni de gasto que se hace con ellas en su sustento y vestido, y que la limosna que entra en poder de la vicaria se gasta por su mano sin otra cuenta ni razón.*

Que están muy mal paradas de vestidos y camas y descalzas, de manera que no podían estar peor cuando andaban por las calles de donde las recogieron.

Que habiendo el desorden que al presente pasa que no es de ninguna utilidad ni beneficio para esta república, y así digo por descargo de mi conciencia."

⁷⁷ Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, s. XVII, t. 24, no 6, cited in Carmona García, *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza* p. 126: "*He hecho de mi parte todo lo que debe hacer un buen administrador y aún mucho más porque he suplido de mi bolsa y pagado muchas cosas sustentando la casa, y he curado y he dado medicinas a las enfermas y descubierto escrituras y títulos de la hacienda que por omisión y descuido de otros estaban perdidos."*

Chapter 4: The Nature of the Image in Murillo's Seville

“...the principal purpose, as far as Christian images are concerned, will always be to persuade men to piety and raise them towards God”. Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644).

4.1 Christian images

The above quote is taken from Book 1, chapter XI, of Pacheco's monumental work, *Arte de la Pintura: su antigüedad y grandeza*, thought to have been completed by the late 1630s, but only published in Seville five years after his death in 1649.¹ It comprised three books, the first two dealing with the theory of art while the last contained practical instructions for producing a painting. Pacheco, an established painter in Seville as well as a poet and theorist who played a leading role in the intellectual life of the city, was, in addition, an inspector and censor of art for the Inquisition. The chapter from which the above quote is taken is titled “On the purpose of painting and of Holy images and the good they do, and on the authority they hold within the Catholic Church” and Pacheco goes on to say:

While it is quite possible that other specific purposes may also be involved, like encouraging men to penitence, to suffering gladly, to charity and contempt for the world, or to other virtues, these are all so many ways of uniting man with God, which latter is itself the very highest purpose to which the painting of holy images can aspire...²

As I shall discuss here, this view of religious images which valued painting that “elevates itself to a supreme purpose in looking to eternal glory”³ over and beyond the question of resemblance, would have accorded with the dominant attitude to painting amongst Murillo's commissioners of religious works in the era of Post-Tridentine Spain. During this period, Murillo contributed to the embellishment of a multitude of religious institutions in Seville, such as the Cathedral Church of the Sagrario, the

¹ Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura su antigüedad y grandezas*, 2nd ed., (Madrid: Manuel Galiano, 1866), vol. 1, p.189. Trans.by Nicholas Walker, in *Art in Theory: 1648 – 1815, an Anthology of Changing Ideas*, Charles Harrison, Paul Wood and Jason Gaiger, eds., (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), p.33.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Hospital de la Caridad, the Church of Santa María de la Blanca, the Hospital de los Venerables Sacerdotes and the Capuchin Monastery.

Pacheco's approach to the usefulness of images as an aid to devotion should be viewed against the prohibition against representing God through figurative images in Exodus (20:4-5), which was a problem frequently addressed by the church over the centuries. One of the most cited rulings is that of Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604) who affirmed in his letter to the iconoclastic bishop, Serenus of Marseilles, that 'Images are to be employed in churches, so that those who are illiterate might at least read by seeing on the walls what they cannot read in books'.⁴ He also wrote in praise of images to the abbot and historian Secundinus (d.612) that "by taking us back to the memory of the Son of God, the image, like the scriptures, delights our mind with the resurrection, or caresses it with the Passion".⁵ The standard rebuttal to the charge that religious imagery encouraged idolatry was gracefully mounted six centuries later by the Dominican theologian, St Thomas of Aquinas (1225-1274), in his *Summa Theologica*:

There is a twofold movement of the mind toward an image: one toward the image as a thing itself, another toward the image insofar as it is a representation of something else.... Thus, therefore, we must say that no reverence is shown to Christ's image as a thing, for instance, carved or painted wood... It follows therefore that reverence should be shown to it insofar only as it is an image.⁶

Aquinas also defended the use of images in churches as aids to teach the illiterate, as a stimulus in remembering worthy examples and to arouse devotion:

The images of Christ and the saints are made in the church for three reasons: first, for the instruction of the unlettered, who are taught by these images as if they were books; secondly, so that the mystery of the incarnation and the example of the saints may remain the better in our memory, when they are presented daily to our eyes; and thirdly so that a feeling of devotion may be excited, which can be aroused more successfully by things seen than heard.⁷

When the veneration of saints and images was vehemently rejected by the Protestant movement, with its emphasis on the principle of justification by faith alone, the issue

⁴ Quoted in Alonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "Image and Counter-Reformation in Spain and Spanish America" in Ronda Kasl, ed., *Sacred Spain: Art and Belief in the Spanish World*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 15.

⁵ Sixten Ringbom, *From Icon to Narrative: the rise of the dramatic close-up in fifteenth-century devotional painting*, Abo: Abo Akademi, 1965, p.11.

⁶ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae, Secunda secundae*, IIIa, 25.3, cited in Diana Norman, ed., *Siena, Florence and Padua*, vol. 1, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 180.

⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae, Secunda secundae*, III, (Douai, 1614), pp. 175-6, cited in Diana Norman, ed., *Siena, Florence and Padua*, vol.11, p. 126.

was addressed in the final session of the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century as was noted in the previous chapter. Though the Council of Trent made little reference to the visual arts, the twenty-fifth and final session, convened in 1563 during the papacy of Pius IV, did produce some general statements about arts of a religious nature which were issued in the decree 'On the invocation, veneration, and relics of saints and on sacred images'.⁸ The Tridentine decree firstly confirmed the legitimacy of religious images from the point of view of dogma and earlier conciliar definitions:

Moreover, that the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints are to be placed and retained especially in the churches and that due honour and veneration is to be given them; not however, that any divinity or virtue is believed to be in them by reason of which they are to be venerated, or that something is to be asked of them, or that trust is to be placed in images, as was done of old by the Gentiles who placed their hope in idols; but because the honour which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which they represent, so that by means of the images.... we adore Christ and venerate the saints whose likeness they bear.⁹

Secondly, the decree referred to the didactic effectiveness of images in instructing the faithful and promoting virtue which had been affirmed previously by many writers and theologians:

Moreover, let the bishops diligently teach that by means of the stories of the mysteries of our redemption portrayed in paintings and other representations the people are instructed and confirmed in the articles of faith, which ought to be borne in mind and constantly reflected upon; also that great profit is derived from all holy images, not only because the people are thereby reminded of the benefits and gifts bestowed on them by Christ, but also because through the saints the miracles of God and salutary examples are set before the eyes of the faithful, so that they may give God thanks for those things, may fashion their own life and conduct in imitation of the saints and be moved to adore and love God and cultivate piety.¹⁰

Lastly, the decree set out the errors and abuses which should be avoided in images such as those which might lead to profanity, indecency, heresy, superstition and confusion, also emphasising the need for the bishop's oversight of images:

If any abuses shall have found their way into these holy and salutary observances, the holy council desires earnestly that they be completely removed, so that no representation of false doctrines and such as might be the occasion of grave error to the uneducated be exhibited.... Furthermore, in the invocation of the saints, the veneration of relics, and the sacred use of images, all superstition

⁸ *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, pp. 215-7.

⁹ *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, pp. 215-216.

¹⁰ *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, p. 216.

shall be removed, all filthy quest for gain eliminated, and all lasciviousness avoided, so that images shall not be painted and adorned with a seductive charm.... Finally, such zeal and care should be exhibited by the bishops with regard to these things that nothing may appear that is disorderly or unbecoming and confusedly arranged, nothing that is profane, nothing disrespectful, since holiness becometh the house of God.¹¹

These qualities, required for all religious art, were later subsumed under the term “decorum”. Lack of decorum in images could encompass nudity, indecent clothing, provocative beauty, modern dress and excessive ornamentation, although, as noted by the historian Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, these requirements were not always observed, especially in relation to the dressing of earlier cult images.¹² Some of Murillo’s paintings of the Penitent Magdalena, for example, are decidedly sensuous.¹³ As Javier Portús points out, Philip IV inherited, commissioned, bought and was given a large number of nude works, and for the upper ranks of society, the clash between the requirements of decorum and private taste was resolved through the use of hidden displays, where paintings of nudes could be presented and enjoyed.¹⁴

Nonetheless, Rodríguez G. de Ceballos points out that the twelfth rule of the Index of Prohibited Books, which was published in 1583 by order of the Inquisitor General and cardinal of Toledo, Don Gaspar de Quiroga, states:

Any and all images, portraits, figures, coins, prints, inventions, representations, and medals, in whatever material they may be printed, painted, drawn, carved, woven, or made, that may cast derision upon the saints, be in contempt of or irreverent toward them and their images, relics or miracles, habit, profession, or life, are likewise forbidden and must be confiscated. And likewise those that show contempt for the holy Apostolic See of the Roman Pontiffs, Cardinals, and Bishops, and of their state, order, dignity, and authority.¹⁵

The Spanish Synodal Constitutions picked up the few directives relating to art and in Toledo, for example, declared in the ‘Constituciones Synodales Loaysa de 1596’ that: ‘it is forbidden to paint either stories of saints or *retables* without prior inspection, and painted works that would be apocryphal or badly painted should be removed, and others

¹¹ *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, p. 216-7.

¹² Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, “Image and Counter-Reformation in Spain and Spanish America”, p. 28.

¹³ See his painting of the subject in the colección Arango, Madrid, c. 1655, where a bare breast is clearly on display and a rather erotic version in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, c. 1650-1655.

¹⁴ Javier Portús Pérez, *The Sala Reservada and the Nude in the Prada Museum*, (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2002), pp. 51-2.

¹⁵ Cited in Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, “Image and Counter-Reformation in Spain and Spanish America”, p. 22.

more correct should replace them'.¹⁶ Sara T. Nalle notes that under the direction of Andrés Pacheco, the first bishop of Cuenca to codify the church's position on images in the 1602 synodal constitutions, as many as one hundred fifty images which were judged to be lacking in decorum may have been destroyed.¹⁷ The chief concern was with a lack of decorum which involved the mixing of the religious and the profane, such as covering sacred images in modern dress and jewels, thus leading them to be confused with secular portraits. The Synod of Gerona, for example, declared in 1600 that "images of Jesus Christ, in churches as well as private chapels and oratories, should not be dressed nor decorated with profane garments, with armaments and swords in military style", while the Salamanca Synod of 1654 instructed that for images of the Virgin, "her head is not adorned profanely with curls or other hair embellishments... but is covered by her wimple, with all possible decency and reverence", while the Jesuit Diego Pérez de Valdivia wrote in his *Tratado de la alabanza de la castidad* (1588): "Painters who depict the saints and particularly female saints gaily dressed, commit a serious sin, for they dressed not that way but with decency. It is a particularly serious sin to paint Our lady in a dress that is not worthy and decent".¹⁸

Trent inspired a succession of works on the subject of sacred images, the most learned was published in 1582 by the cardinal archbishop of Bologna, Gabriele Paleotti, which was extremely intolerant towards any errors or abuses indicated by the Council of Trent that might affect sacred images.¹⁹ A more practical, highly influential text by the Flemish humanist Johannes Molanus, *De historia sanctarum imaginum et picturarum, pro vero earum usu contra abusum libri quatuor*, was published in 1617, with a utilitarian compendium of iconography which Pacheco drew on for his long iconographic appendix indicating the best way to treat certain religious subjects.²⁰

Deeply committed to Counter-Reformation ideals, Pacheco was appointed in 1618 as an official censor of the Inquisition, charged with overseeing the painting of sacred matters

¹⁶ Cited in Alain Saint-Saëns, *Art and Faith in Tridentine Spain (1545-1690)*, (Iberica; vol. 14), (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), p. 2.

¹⁷ Sara T. Nalle, *God in La Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500-1650*, (Baltimore & London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 152.

¹⁸ See Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "Image and Counter-Reformation in Spain and Spanish America", pp 25-7 for these and other examples.

¹⁹ Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "Image and Counter-Reformation in Spain and Spanish America", p. 21.

²⁰ Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "Image and Counter-Reformation in Spain and Spanish America", p. 21; see also Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas*, pp 54-9.

in Seville.²¹ Pacheco virtually paraphrases the decree of the Council of Trent on religious art in his valuation of the duty to be accurate and orthodox in representations of sacred themes above that of aesthetic ones:

And although I may seem to have strayed from my intention to deal with the matter of sacred images, I want it known that if they are not the sole application of painting, they are nonetheless the most illustrious and majestic part and that which gives it greater glory and splendour, being used for sacred histories and divine mysteries that teach the faith, the works of Christ and His Most Holy Mother, the lives and deaths of the holy martyrs, confessors and virgins, and all that pertains to this; and it is the most difficult part of this noble art because of the strong obligation it owes to faith, propriety and decorum which so few achieve, however great they may be as painters.²²

Pacheco begins his chapter on the purpose of painting and of holy images by asserting that: “the purpose of the painter, considered simply as a craftsman, will be to acquire, by means of this his art, wealth fame or credit, to procure enjoyment, to perform a service for another, or to labour for his own pastime” while the purpose of painting will ordinarily be “to depict, through imitation, the represented object with all possible boldness and propriety”.²³ This is what gives painting apparent life, a sense of immediacy for the post-Tridentine era, with beauty, colour and other embellishments being merely accessories or accidental features. Pacheco quotes Aristotle in support of this view and affirms that it “involves representing what is to be imitated through good drawing and perfect fidelity.”²⁴ However, the principal aim of the painter as a Christian craftsman, which, according to Pacheco, is the only one with which he is concerned, should be “to attain unto a condition of blessedness through the study and the toil of his profession as undertaken in a state of grace”, thus exalting the purpose of art from its original purpose of faithful depiction by the “addition of this new perfection” which raises it to the very highest rank of the virtues.²⁵ He claims that:

Beyond the question of resemblance, painting here elevates itself to a supreme purpose in looking to eternal glory. And in serving thereby to turn men’s faces away from every kind of vice, painting itself leads them rather towards the true veneration of God our Lord.... Christian images are directed not only towards God, but also towards ourselves and our fellow men. For there is no doubt that

²¹ Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas*, p. 56.

²² Francisco Pacheco, *El Arte de la Pintura*, 2nd ed., (Madrid: Manuel Galiano, 1866), I, p. 204, trans. in Brown, *Images and Ideas*, p. 57.

²³ Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, I, p.183. Trans.by Nicholas Walker, in *Art in Theory: 1648 – 1815, an Anthology of Changing Ideas*, Charles Harrison, Paul Wood and Jason Gaiger, eds., (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), p.30.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

all virtuous works are capable of serving at once the glory of God, our own instruction, and the edification of our fellow men.²⁶

As we shall see in chapters 5 and 6, Murillo's religious canvases appear to be designed to fulfil the above criteria. In directing the viewer both to God and to men, Murillo is pushing the viewer towards performing charitable work. Pacheco goes on to assert that holy images encompass the three kinds of good discussed by philosophers – pleasure, utility and honest truth – insofar as these qualities are promoted by those images and that Christian law permits the use of sacred images in order to honour the true God through his saints and thus spread His infinite power, mercy, justice and wisdom into every corner of the earth.²⁷

In dealing with the truth and fidelity with which sacred stories should be painted in volume II, chapter XI, of *Arte de la Pintura*, Pacheco's instructions are extremely detailed. His directives for painting the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, the sacred image par excellence of the entire Golden Age, specify that the Virgin "should have pretty but serious eyes with perfect features and rosy cheeks, and the most beautiful, long golden locks", that she "should be painted wearing a white tunic and a blue mantle... surrounded by the sun, an oval sun of white and ochre, which sweetly blends into the sky" and that "rays of light emanate from her head, around which is a ring of twelve stars" while "an imperial crown adorns her head... and under her feet is the moon" with meticulous instructions about how this moon should be painted, down to the fact that "the points turned downward"; that "one usually puts God the Father or the Holy Spirit or both" in the upper part while earthly attributes are placed in the landscape below and heavenly attributes among the clouds".²⁸ Pacheco is at pains to cite an authoritative reference or his own learned justification for each component of this composition, so that for the moon, he says: "I have followed the learned opinion of Father Luis del Alcázar, famous son of Seville", while overall, he says the version he follows is "the one that is closest to the holy revelation of the Evangelist and approved by the Catholic Church on the authority of the sacred and holy interpreters".²⁹

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁸ Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura su antigüedad y grandezas*, (Seville, 1649). Trans from edition of Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, II (Madrid, 1956), 208-12, in Robert Enggass & Jonathan Brown, *Italian & Spanish Art, 1600-1750: Sources and Documents*, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1992) pp. 165-7.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

Nonetheless, Murillo, who produced many notable versions of this subject, produced his own, very popular version of the subject which strayed far from Pacheco's strict formulation of the subject, removing, for example, the figure completely from an earthly setting, reducing the number of attributes, often omitting the stars and painting the points of the moon facing upwards. The historian Jonathan Brown also traces in some detail the evolution of Sevillian painting of the Annunciation for which Pacheco also gives instructions, showing that with Murillo, the composition that had influenced fifty years of Sevillian painters was finally abandoned, though Brown notes that the conservative force of orthodoxy, for which Pacheco spoke, influenced artists there until the 1640s.³⁰

However, Pacheco's long, uneven treatise, which he worked on for over forty years, also reflects the views of his circle of learned friends which included poets, humanist scholars as well as clerics, to whom he was introduced by his uncle, a canon of the Cathedral of Seville. Indeed, the Spanish painter and writer on art, Antonio Palomino (1653-1726) wrote in his life of Pacheco that: "The house of Pacheco was a gilded cage of art, academy and school of the greatest minds of Seville".³¹ Aside from the primary evangelical function of painting to move men to piety and bring them to God, Pacheco also desired to demonstrate the interest and nobility of painting. He urges his fellow painters to acquire a knowledge of humanistic letters:

It is convenient that artists know, and not superficially, humanistic letters, and even divine ones, to ascertain the manner in which they must paint the things that are offered to them. Thus it is very proper or even necessary to join that study of painting to that of letters, in order to profit from the historians and poets and of all the faculties in infinite cases.³²

However, he goes on to acknowledge that this may be an unrealistic goal in some cases and therefore stresses that "much can be gained by good judgement and extensive communication with scholars in all fields".³³ Indeed, Pacheco's approach to the philosophical problems of art theory largely involve a string of quotations from the writings of previous authors. He scattered throughout his treatise on theory, for

³⁰ See Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, pp.66-68.

³¹ Antonio Palomino, *El Parnaso español*, (Madrid, 1796), Vol. II, p. 478, cited in Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Seville from Pacheco to Murillo: A study of Artistic Transition*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, (Princeton University, 1964), p. 70.

³² *El Arte de la Pintura*, I, p. 264, cited in Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Seville from Pacheco to Murillo*, p. 131.

³³ *Ibid.*

example, fragments from the versified *Poema de la Pintura* by the poet and painter Pablo de Céspedes (1538-1608), who had spent almost twenty years in virtual exile in Italy. In the extracts, Céspedes espouses the Roman preference for drawing over colour asking: “What principle is suitable to the noble art (of painting)?” and answers: “Drawing, which alone represents whatever lives on the air, on land or sea!”. In the excerpt dealing with the question of the *idea della bellezza*, Céspedes does not incorporate the Neo-Platonic ideal of beauty into his theory, but rather advises colleagues to study nature with the greatest attention and take from it the best formed parts which will produce a perfect work of art when judiciously combined: “you select the ideal and of perfect parts make a whole”.³⁴ Jonathan Brown notes that Pacheco’s aesthetic notions “do not stray far from the path blazed by Céspedes’s *Poema*.”³⁵

Above all, for Pacheco the value of a work of art is directly allied to the correctness of its religious content, which he calls “decorum”, and the third volume of his work contains essays on how a painter should represent scenes from the New Testament and the lives of saints, including, for example, the well-known discussion in chapters 15 and 16 about whether depictions of the crucifixion should show Christ nailed to the cross with three or four nails. Jonathan Brown notes that his militant insistence on textual fidelity when a painter represents sacred stories echoes the cry for accuracy that is found in post-Tridentine works, such as Borghini’s *Il Riposo*, Paleotti’s *De imaginibus sacri*, Molanus’s *De picturis et imaginibus sacris*, and Gilio da Fabriano’s *Degli errori de’ pittori* in his *Due dialoghi*, all, apart from the last, often cited by Pacheco.³⁶ The distinction Pacheco draws in favour of iconographically correct paintings as opposed to artistic beauty is perfectly in tune with Tridentine politics of control over images in terms of decorum and doctrinal correctness, and underlines the extent of his commitment to Counter-Reformation ideals. His work served to clarify orthodox religious iconography for the Sevillian school.

³⁴ For Céspedes and his relationship with Pacheco, see Brown, *Painting in Seville from Pacheco to Murillo*, pp. 87-90; 108-117.

³⁵ Brown, *Painting in Seville from Pacheco to Murillo*, p. 127.

³⁶ Brown, *Painting in Seville from Pacheco to Murillo*, p.55.

4.2 Fernando de la Torre Farfán: artistic accounts

Although they are not artistic treatises, three texts by the priest and poet Fernando de la Torre Farfán (1609-1677), which describe Seville celebrations linked with important buildings in the city, are also important sources for an understanding of the artistic situation during the period in which Murillo was active. According to the art historian and curator, Javier Portús, these texts represent “one of the most important attempts undertaken by a single author in the Golden Age to describe works of art and to identify and praise the artists responsible for them”.³⁷ The first of these texts celebrated the inauguration of the Church of the Sagrario, part of the Cathedral, in 1663; the second document feted the remodelling of the Church of Santa María Blanca and the promulgation of the Apostolic brief in favour of the Immaculate Conception in 1665, and the third was a celebration of the canonization of Saint Ferdinand organised by the cathedral of Seville in 1671.³⁸ As the historians Morán Turina and Javier Portús commented on the 1622 *fiestas* in Madrid, these kind of celebrations were instrumental in communicating political and religious power to the population by means of a grand procession through an urban scene radically transformed by ephemeral structures and a proliferation of figurative allusions to the subject of the celebration.³⁹ They were also intensely hierarchical in terms of reception since only the elite would have been able to view the proceedings from privileged vantage points such as balconies and only a few

³⁷ Javier Portús Pérez, “Discourses on the Art of painting in Seville in Justino de Neve’s Time”, in Finaldi, *Murillo & Justino de Neve*, p. 47.

³⁸ Javier Portús Pérez, “Discourses on the Art of painting in Seville in Justino de Neve’s Time”, p. 47; see also, Javier Portús, *El concepto de Pintura Española. Historia de un problema*. (Madrid: Editorial Verbum, 2012), pp. 47-9, notes 67, 69 & 72 which give full titles for each text by Torre Farfán: 1. *Templo panegírico, al certamen poético que celebró la Hermandad insigne del Smo. Sacramento, estrenando la grande fábrica del sagrario nuevo de la Metropoli sevillana, con las fiestas en obsequio del breve concedido por la Santidad de N Padre Alexandro VII al primer instante de María Santísima nuestra Señora sin pecado original*, Sevilla, 1663; 2. *Fiestas que celebró la iglesia parrochial de S. María la Blanca, capilla de la Sta. Iglesia Metropolitana, y patriarcal de Sevilla: en obsequio del nuevo breve concedido por N Smo. Padre Alexandro VII a favor del purísimo misterio de la Concepción sin culpa original de María Santísima Nuestra Señora, en el primero instante physico de su ser. Con la circunstancia de averse fabricado de nuevo su templo para esta fiesta*, Sevilla, 1666; 3. *Fiestas de la S Iglesia Metropolitana y patriarcal de Sevilla, al nuevo culto del señor Rey S. Fernando el tercero de Castilla y de León*, Sevilla, 1671.

See also, Rosemary Mulcahy, “Celebrating Sainthood, Government, and Seville: The Fiestas for the Canonization of King Ferdinand III”, in *Hispanic Research Journal*, Vol. 11, No 5, (Dec. 2010), pp 393-414.

³⁹ Miguel Morán Turina, and Javier Portús Pérez, *el arte de mirar: La pintura y su público en la España de Velázquez*, (Madrid: ISTMO, 1997), p. 85.

would have completely grasped the complex narratives embedded in the event's images.⁴⁰ This, of course, is the elite who commissioned Murillo's work.

Taken together, Torre Farfán's texts show the extent to which painting in Seville had begun to form part of the collective pride of the city. In his account of the 1663 celebrations for "la iglesia del Sagrario", he was insistent in describing the works of art and their makers. In the record of the 1666 *fiestas*, he described the church of Santa María Blanca and its paintings, for which Murillo had provided five important canvases, as well as the arches and ephemeral altars made for the church exterior. Lastly, in the sumptuous folio-size book recording the 1671 celebrations for the canonization of San Fernando which was published by the Cathedral Chapter and lavishly illustrated with twenty-one high quality prints furnished by the city's principal artists, Torre Farfán described the cathedral, its most important paintings and their authors, calling particular attention to local artists, especially Murillo, whom he referred to as "Apeles sevillano".⁴¹ Of the *Triunfo* of Saint Ferdinand, he wrote: "All these works, their decoration and architectural design were entrusted to the care of Juan de Valdés and Bernardo Simón de Pineda, great artists born in this city; their creation acts as their trumpet call to fame, and their inventiveness fulfilled the obligation and care of this Holy Church", inventiveness being the most esteemed aspect of painting, marking it out as a liberal art.⁴²

Torre Farfán provided a very detailed account of the ephemeral constructions created for the *fiestas* of 1671, the religious ceremonies, processions, sermons, eulogies as well as public functions such as dancing and fireworks.⁴³ The *Triunfo*, a huge wooden structure decorated with paintings which was 134 feet high and around 60 feet square, was erected at the west end of the Cathedral nave, conceived according to Torre Farfán in imitation of "triumphal arches, antique and modern, made up of *historias* and coats of arms of the heroes being celebrated"(fig. 62).⁴⁴ Red and gold damasks and velvets,

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 86-91, which include a detailed analysis of specific allusions and events in the 1622 Madrid fiestas which celebrated the canonizations of Saints Isidro, Teresa de Jesús, Ignacio, Francisco Javier and Felipe Neri.

⁴¹ Javier Portús, *El concepto de Pintura Española. Historia de un problema*. (Madrid: Editorial Verbum, 2012), pp. 47-9.

⁴² Portús Pérez, "Discourses on the Art of painting in Seville in Justino de Neve's Time", p. 54.

⁴³ Rosemary Mulcahy, "Celebrating Sainthood, Government, and Seville: The Fiestas for the Canonization of King Ferdinand III", in *Hispanic Research Journal*, Vol. 11, No 5, (Dec. 2010), p 396.

⁴⁴ Torre Farfán, *Fiestas de la S Iglesia Metropolitana y patriarcal de Sevilla*, (1671, p.22), cited in Mulcahy, "Celebrating Sainthood, Government, and Seville", p. 399.

embroidered with the arms of Castile and Leon, covered the side chapels and the four pillars next to the *Triunfo* which contained a ten foot high statue by Pedro Roldán of St Ferdinand raising his sword and offering the royal crown to heaven, in return for which he receives the celestial diadem: *Eris Corona Gloriam*.⁴⁵ The cloud above him was a form of theatrical *máquina*, from which hung sculptured angels tossing flowers and a diadem which descended to crown the head of the saint. Below were sculptures of St Ferdinand, offering the spoils of war to the Church, and four life-sized conquered Moorish rulers giving up the keys to their cities, described by Torre Farfán as: “*la acción que practicava fue ofrecerle a la Iglesia aquellas triunfadora cuchilla, y variedad de espojos Moriscos Y principalmente los cuatro reynos, frutos de sus conquistas: Sevilla, Córdoba, Jaén y Murcia*”.⁴⁶ The Royal chapel behind the high altar in the apse and the Sagrario were similarly richly decorated with expensive fabrics, paintings and sculptured figures, including a life-sized sculpture of St Ferdinand (fig. 63), dressed with an ermine cape, collar of gold and an imperial crown studded with diamonds which was mounted on the silver casket containing his body: “*un simulacro de muy elegante talla fabricado para esta festividad*”.⁴⁷ Torre Farfán summed up the scheme by saying that the paintings and hieroglyphs, with their mottoes and lettering, were placed in such a way as to serve both beauty and erudition, providing an adornment for the eyes and morals for the understanding.⁴⁸

The splendour of the decorations, the processions, dancing and fireworks would have impressed the general public. However, the texts, mottoes, emblems and the painted hieroglyphics, surrounded by silver and green enamelled garlands, which were all integral components of the decorative scheme, would have been illegible to all but a minority of spectators. According to Rosemary Mulcahy, an extensive knowledge of sacred scripture, classical literature, emblem books and Latin would all have been necessary in order to grasp their significance.⁴⁹ The main political and religious message being communicated by the hundreds of images and texts to the population at

⁴⁵ Mulcahy, “Celebrating Sainthood, Government, and Seville”, pp. 399, 402.

⁴⁶ Torre Farfán, *Fiestas de la S Iglesia Metropolitana y patriarcal de Sevilla*, (1671, p.52), cited in Mulcahy, “Celebrating Sainthood, Government, and Seville”, p. 402.

⁴⁷ Torre Farfán, *Fiestas de la S Iglesia Metropolitana y patriarcal de Sevilla*, (1671, p.149), cited in Mulcahy, “Celebrating Sainthood, Government, and Seville”, p. 409.

⁴⁸ Torre Farfán, *Fiestas de la S Iglesia Metropolitana y patriarcal de Sevilla*, (1671, p.243), cited in Mulcahy, “Celebrating Sainthood, Government, and Seville”, p. 412: “*Y se executó con felicidad en las pinturas y hieroglíficos con sus motes y letras, que se colocaron donde podían server de Hermosura y de erudición; hacienda parte de adorno para los ojos y de moralidad para el entendimiento.*”

⁴⁹ Mulcahy, “Celebrating Sainthood, Government, and Seville”, p. 404.

large was the military role of the monarchy as defender of the Christian faith, and of God and the Church as the source of the crown's legitimacy and power. There was an additional message that the struggles of the monarch were for the good of Andalusian Muslims so that they might find happiness in salvation: "*No daña esta espada al Moro por más que penetre sus entrañas. Con esta espada, el pecho herido entrelaza, una cruz Sagrada*" is the translation of a Latin rhyming couplet by Torre Farfán, while an etching, by Lucas Valdés (1661-1624), shows a triumphal wagon on its way to heaven drawn by four Moors and driven by King Ferdinand with sword and reins in his hands (fig. 64).⁵⁰ Even four centuries after Islamic rule had ended in Seville and over sixty years since the expulsion of the Moriscos ordered by Philip III in 1609, *limpieza de sangre* was a defining point for empire and a major preoccupation of both church and state.

In his text relating to the *fiestas* in honour of the rebuilding of the Church of Santa María Blanca, Torre Farfán described in detail both the interior decoration of the church and the pictorial adornment of the square in front of the church. The focal point of the exterior decoration was an altar (fig. 65), with a painting of the *Immaculate Conception* in the centre of the lower storey, flanked by the *Young Christ as the Good Shepherd* and *The Infant Saint John the Baptist with a Lamb* (figs 66 and 67), all by Murillo, while the upper section had the *Allegory of the Eucharist and the Immaculate Conception* by Herrera the Younger which normally hung in the Cathedral (fig. 19).⁵¹ Torre Farfán named the artist who painted each work and made observations about every picture. The most notable aspect of the decorations, however, was the gallery of paintings displayed on the façade of the palace of Manuel Luis de Guzmán y Zúñiga, 4th Marquis of Villamanrique (d. 1692), which Portús describes as unprecedented and the most important public exhibition of paintings in the Spanish Golden Age known to date.⁵² It was a "temporary museum" designed to celebrate the merits of painting in general, and to champion the local school of artists in particular, as Torre Farfán's description of the works makes clear:

There were few foreign artists whose original works were not to be found in the square, either those who demonstrate the use of colour today or those who

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Portús Pérez, J, "Discourses on the Art of painting in Seville in Justino de Neve's Time", p. 48. Portús argues that the Immaculate Conception is the painting now in the Prado, p. 118. There is a reconstruction of the altar, fig. 58, p. 119.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

brought painting to life in the past [...]. There Titian's colours that vied with nature were to be seen: while the drawings of Peter Paul Rubens revealed the powers [of art] that challenged nature's wonders: the delights [of art] outweighing nature's skills in Artemisia's smoothness. Relief struggling against its boundaries in Réblan's [*sic*] shadows: beauty perfected by artifice in Raphael's study. The fiction of drawing adding power to truth in the daring of Maese Pedro: and these all to be found together in the great undertaking of our own Jusepe de Ribera [...]. And we should certainly consider of equal worth, and in some cases even greater (seemingly perfected by the culture of the age) the paintings of our own Sevillians, who also shone with the merit of their original works; great delight was taken in the celebrated Vargas, the famous Roelas, the illustrious Murillo, the two great Herreras, father and son, and sufficient that there was just one painting by the (incomparable) Alonso Cano, alongside several by the most erudite Pacheco.⁵³

Portús notes that artists such as Titian, Raphael, Rubens, Ribera and Artemisia are found in Sevillian inventories of this period and that the astute aesthetic description of Rembrandt's (Réblan's) painting marks the first critical judgement of his work in Spain.⁵⁴ Portús also points out that in his analysis of the works on display, Torre Farfán singled out and praised creative individuality, meaning that paintings and other such objects were perceived of as the product of an artistic personality.⁵⁵ This is in contrast with the concept of the artist as a craftsman, a concept which painters and writers in the Iberian Peninsula struggled to dispel throughout the seventeenth century. Not until 1677, following a series of petitions and court cases challenging their lack of status and the tax imposed on paintings, did painters finally succeed in having the exercise of painting accepted as part of the liberal arts in a decree promulgated by Charles II.⁵⁶

4.3 Murillo's collectors

In order to contextualise the production of Murillo's paintings and highlight his position as the most important artist in Seville of this period, in this section, I shall examine the nature of his collectors, who represent a microcosm of the world in Seville. The Marquis of Villamanrique, for example, was only one of the sophisticated, knowledgeable patrons and collectors in Seville who supported the work of Murillo.

⁵³ Torre Farfán, 1666, fols. 12v-13r, cited in Portús Pérez, "Discourses on the Art of painting in Seville in Justino de Neve's Time", pp. 48-9.

⁵⁴ Portús Pérez, "Discourses on the Art of painting in Seville in Justino de Neve's Time", p.49.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 51.

⁵⁶ Karin Hellwig, *La literatura artística española del siglo XVII*, trans. Jesús Espino Nuño, (Madrid: Visor, 1999), p. 60-1; see also pp.51-61 which discusses the campaign for recognition.

The breadth of Murillo's popularity amongst the ecclesiastical, noble and merchant classes of Seville was confirmed in Duncan Kinkead's comprehensive study of over 200 artistic inventories from 1650-1700 which detailed the presence of paintings by identified artists cited in post-mortem inventories, *almonedas*, testaments and dowries in the Notarial Archives of Seville. This study revealed the full extent of artistic collecting in Seville across all social classes and the pre-eminence of Murillo's paintings and the high monetary value given to works by his hand in comparison to that of his contemporaries.⁵⁷ Francisco Manuel Martín Morales' study of 227 post-mortem inventories in Seville from 1600-1670 also gives an indication of the collecting practices of Sevillian society. His study demonstrated a high demand for paintings amongst all social groups (excluding members of the third estate), with noble collectors possessing the greatest total percentage followed by merchants, functionaries and members of the clergy. Overall, secular paintings (35.1%) outnumbered religious paintings (33.6%) in these collections, a discrepancy which was greatest amongst the secular elite. Moreover, his study showed an inverse relationship between the presence of religious paintings and the social status of the collector so that religious paintings accounted for only 21.3% of the collections belonging to nobles but 37.6% in the case of merchants' collections. Images of Christ and the saints predominate in the noble and ecclesiastical collections, while those of the Virgin were preferred by merchants and functionaries.⁵⁸

As with all religious painters in Seville of this period, Murillo was principally dependent on the patronage of ecclesiastical authorities and religious institutions for his livelihood. His religious patrons were members of Seville's ecclesiastical elite, primarily senior officials of the cathedral chapter responsible for assisting the archbishop in the administration of the bishopric. His most eminent religious patrons included Francisco Domonte, Bishop Auxiliar of Seville, later Bishop of Arjona; Juan de Federigui, Archdeacon of Carmona; and Ambrosio Spínola, Archbishop of Seville.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Duncan Kinkead, "Artistic Inventories in Seville, 1650- 1699", *Boletín de bellas artes* no. 17, (1989), pp 119-78. Kinkead found that Murillo's paintings accounted for 23% of all paintings by identified artists and were found in 79% of the artistic inventories.

⁵⁸ Francisco Manuel Martín Morales, "Aproximaciones al estudio del mercado de cuadros en la Sevilla barroca (1600-1670)", *Archivo hispalense* 69 (1968), 143-5. Martín Morales used *oficios* taken from the first year of each decade because of the huge number of inventories involved.

⁵⁹ Lisa Duffy-Zeballos, *Murillo's Devotional Paintings*, p. 120.

Justino de Neve, a canon in the Cathedral of Seville, was his greatest ecclesiastical patron. He not only owned an important group of eighteen paintings attributed to Murillo, but he also was influential in gaining Murillo commissions throughout the diocese.⁶⁰ In addition, as previously noted, he donated paintings by Murillo to Santa María de Blanc and to the Hospital de los Venerables Sacerdotes whose construction he had funded.⁶¹ In the inventory of his collection of some 160 paintings which was drawn up after his death in 1685, over two-thirds of his collection were religious paintings (Virgins, saints, New Testament scenes and one Old Testament scene), thirteen are historical, mythological or allegorical paintings, eight are landscapes, ten are still lifes, and there are eleven portraits (including one of Justino de Neve by Murillo) and six pictures which we would label genre paintings today (including a girl with a bunch of grapes, a waterseller and a boy with a crossbow).⁶² Only a group of eighteen paintings by Murillo and one by Luis de Morales include the name of the artist who painted them, with Murillo's *Inmaculada Concepción de los Venerables* being by far the most expensive picture in the inventory (7200 reales).⁶³ Amongst the paintings by Murillo are two allegories of "Spring" and "Summer" which Valdivieso identifies as the pictures now in the Dulwich Picture Gallery and the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh, and two flower paintings, one with lilies and the other with roses, which are unknown today.⁶⁴

Murillo's secular patrons comprised a diverse social group ranging from nobles, *jurados* and civil administrators to foreign merchants. At the highest end of the social spectrum were members of the nobility, such as the 4th Marqués de Villamanrique who commissioned a series of four paintings on the story of Jacob by Murillo, which formed part of the decorations for the 1666 *fiestas* celebrating the rebuilding of the Church of Santa María Blanca, and the *Immaculate Conception*; Juan de Saavedra, Marqués de Moscoso, whose portrait was painted by Murillo in 1649 (fig. 68); and the historian Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, Knight of Santiago and author of the famous *Anales de Sevilla* whose art collection numbered over a hundred paintings at the time of his death, including works attributed to Alonso Cano (1601-1667), Juan Carreño de Miranda

⁶⁰ Finaldi, *Murillo & Justino de Neve*, p. 21. This catalogue published the inventory in full and provides further details about his collection and his relationship with Murillo.

⁶¹ Xanthe Brooke, and Peter Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, (London: Merrell, 2001), p. 52.

⁶² Finaldi, *Murillo & Justino de Neve*, p.21.

⁶³ *Ibid*, p.21.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 22.

(1614-1685), Juan del Castillo (c. 1590-c.1657) and at least six by Murillo, who was commissioned to paint his portrait.⁶⁵

Among Murillo's most important secular patrons were members of Seville's Flemish merchant population whose inventories contain the greatest variety of subjects, artistic media and exotic items acquired from trade with the Indies. For example, the merchant and ship owner Joshua van Belle, who was born in Rotterdam, possessed a notable collection of over one hundred paintings, comprising paintings by Annibale Carracci, Poussin, Rubens, Ribera and five by Murillo, an *Ecce Homo*, a *Virgin of Sorrows*, a *St John the Baptist with the Lamb*, and two *Spanish Beggars* none of which can be identified today. There is also a 1670 portrait of Joshua van Belle by Murillo in the National Gallery of Ireland (fig. 69). Only 21% of his collection consisted of religious paintings which was designed to function as an art collection with nearly every work attributed. Ribera and Murillo were the only two Spanish artists represented in his collection.⁶⁶

Murillo's greatest patron was another wealthy Flemish merchant, Nicolás Omazur, who was born into a prominent family in Antwerp and arrived in Seville in 1669 where he remained until his death in 1698. He owned a collection of over 220 paintings, of which thirty-one were by Murillo, including *The Marriage Feast at Cana*, 1670-1675 (fig. 70), which probably featured an idealized portrait of Omazur and his wife Doña Isabel Malcampo as the married couple in the painting, and a further nine were copies after his paintings.⁶⁷ According to Xanthe Brooke, Omazur's was the largest collection of the artist's secular works, containing rare mythological and allegorical scenes and several early genre paintings depicting youths and adults, which are now known only in eighteenth-century copies. There were two inventories of his paintings, one made in 1690 and one after his death in 1698. In the 1690 inventory of his paintings, which the art historian Duncan Kinkead says was probably drawn up by Omazur himself prior to his second marriage, there were 228 works, of which 121 paintings and drawings were

⁶⁵ Duffy-Zeballos, *Murillo's Devotional Paintings*, pp. 147-151; Portús Pérez, "Discourses on the Art of painting in Seville in Justino de Neve's Time", p. 54. The portrait of Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga which is in Penrhyn Castel, Wales, has recently been identified by Navarrete Prieto as the lost masterpiece by Murillo rather than a copy.

⁶⁶ Duffy-Zeballos, *Murillo's Devotional Paintings*, p. 166-7; Diego Angulo Íñiguez, *Murillo. Su vida, su arte, su obra*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpé, 1981), vol. 2, 314-5.

⁶⁷ Duffy-Zeballos, *Murillo's Devotional Paintings*, pp. 166-8.

identified by artist.⁶⁸ Unusually, approximately fifty percent were Spanish works - including paintings by Alonso Cano, Francisco Herrera the Younger, Ignacio de Iriarte, Pedro Núñez de Villavicencio, Pedro Orrente, Jusepe Ribera, Juan de Roelas, Juan Valdés de Leal and Diego Velázquez - twenty percent were Flemish works with the greatest of those represented being Adriaen Brouwer, Jan Bruegel I, Pier Paul Rubens, Cornelio Schutt and Anthony van Dyck, while the remainder were mainly lesser Italian works, of which only three artists are named – Bassano, Mattia Preti and Mario dei Fiori (Mario Nuzzi).⁶⁹ The second inventory made in 1698 indicate that the composition of the collection changed over time, possibly because Omazur turned to dealing in paintings with the decline of the silk trade in Seville in the later seventeenth century.⁷⁰

In Cádiz, a port rising in importance as a centre of commerce to rival Seville, there were also wealthy foreign merchants who acquired works by Murillo, including Francisco Eminente, Pedro Colarte y Dowers and Juan Bielato, who owned *The Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Wallace Collection (fig. 3) which is the subject of the next chapter. Eminente, a prominent member of Cádiz's foreign merchant population, was a Portuguese *converso* condemned by the Inquisition in 1689, whose five paintings by Murillo were cited by Palomino:

One is a horizontal picture, a Glory with little angels cavorting with various flowers in different attitudes, which is glorious indeed to look at. The other is a vertical picture depicting the glorious Patriarch Saint Joseph with the Christ child by the hand and a glory opening up above. The other three are a St Francis of Assisi, a St. Francis de Paul and a St Francis Xavier, each one admirable in its own way.⁷¹

These are Murillo's *Gloria of Angels*, Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, *Saint Francis Xavier*, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, *Saint Francis de Paul*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, and two lost paintings of *Saint Francis of Assisi* and *Saint Joseph and the Christ Child* (figs. 71-73). These works would appear to indicate that Eminente favoured images of his spiritual namesakes, in addition to acquiring religious items to prove his Catholic legitimacy.⁷²

⁶⁸ Duncan Kinkead, "The Picture Collection of Don Nicolas Omazur", p. 135.

⁶⁹ See the 1690 inventory published in Kinkead, "The Picture Collection of Don Nicolas Omazur", pp. 138-142.

⁷⁰ Brooke and Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, p. 52-4. See also Duncan Kinkead, 'The Picture Collection of Don Nicolas Omazur', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 128 (1986), pp 132-144.

⁷¹ Palomino, *Lives*, p. 282.

⁷² Duffy-Zeballos, *Murillo's Devotional Paintings*, pp. 161-2.

Pedro Colarte was a Flemish merchant who amassed a fortune through the sale of Flemish textiles to New World markets and whose inventory included “a painting of Jesus and Mary and Joseph by Murillo that is 4 *varas* high and 3 *varas* wide, valued at 800 escudos de plata” which is probably his *Heavenly and Earthly Trinities* (fig. 74) in the National Gallery, London.⁷³ Duffy-Zeballos, in her thesis on Murillo’s devotional paintings, speculates that Colarte was first made aware of Murillo’s painting through the Genoese merchant Juan Bielato whose nephew Bartolomé Bozan Bielato married Colarte’s granddaughter María Leonor Colarte.⁷⁴

Juan Bielato is first documented in Cádiz in 1662, when he was named as a contributor to funds for raising an Armada against Portugal and in 1664 he is recorded as having donated another 1,000 ducados to the crown.⁷⁵ Sometime before 1674, Bielato returned to Genoa where he drew up his testament dated 12 August 1674, before his death in 1681, in which he stated his devotion to the Capuchin order and their patroness, the Immaculate Conception, leaving a legacy for the Capuchins of Genoa to celebrate 10,000 masses for his soul in the presence of the image of the Immaculate Conception.⁷⁶ In this testament, Bielato declares that he has in his house seven paintings from the hand and brush of ‘Bartolomeo Moriglio de Siviglia’, listing the works and declaring:

*Tutti questi sette quadri, che sono, como si è detto, della mano del Moriglio, le lascia alli R. Padri Capuccini della SS. Concettione de Genova, perchè li ponghino nel lor choro; et perchè per essi non le servono le cornici dorate, vuole che le se ne faccino a propi espese dei esso Sig. Testatore altre di noche, piane a sodisgatione di detti R. Padri Capuccini e conforme loro Ordine.*⁷⁷

It is not known when these paintings entered Bielato’s collection or whether they were bought directly from the artist. Six of the paintings were listed in the will as pairs, according to their dimensions: a large *Adoration of the Shepherds*, Wallace Collection (fig. 3), and a painting of similar size of *Joseph and his Brethren*, Wallace Collection (fig. 75); *The Charity of Saint Thomas of Villanueva*, Wallace Collection (fig. 76), and *The Rest on the Flight to Egypt*, Byng family residence, Wrotham Park (fig. 77); *Virgin*

⁷³ Cited in Duffy-Zeballos, *Murillo’s Devotional Paintings*, pp. 155.

⁷⁴ Duffy-Zeballos, *Murillo’s Devotional Paintings*, pp. 157.

⁷⁵ Manuel Ravina Martín, “Un padrón de los contribuyentes de Cádiz a mediados del siglo XVII”, *Archivo hispalense* 69 (1976), p. 149.

⁷⁶ Piero Boccardo, “Dipinti del Siglo de Oro a Genova fra XVII e XIX secolo” in Piero Boccardo, José Luis Colomer, Clario Di Fabio (ed.), *Genova e la Spagna. Opere, artista, committenti, collezionisti*, (Milan: Silvana, 2002), pp. 273-4.

⁷⁷ Angulo Íñiguez, *Murillo*, vol. II, 102-3. Angulo gives details of the Bielato bequest under the entry for Murillo’s painting, *Joseph and his Brethren*, cat. no. 93.

of the *Immaculate Conception*, Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City (fig. 78), and a *Penitent Magdalene*, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne (fig. 79). The seventh painting was *The Infant St John the Baptist*, Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan (fig. 80). The Genoese painter Domenico Piola was called on to appraise the paintings and valued them as follows: “*Nacimiento*, 760 liras; *Historia de José*, 760 l; *Huida a Egipto*, 350 l; *Santo Tomás de Villanueva*, 600 l; *Concepción*, 300 l; *Magdalena*, 250 l; *San Juan*, 150 l.”⁷⁸ Bielato also bequeathed a large sum to the Convento de Capuchinos de Cádiz which enabled them to commission Murillo’s paintings for the high altar of the church.

Besides his collecting activities and the promotion of painting in the square, the Marquis of Villamanrique was also protector of the Seville Academia de Pintura in 1673, an establishment symbolic of the cultured and scholarly concerns of Sevillian artists. Essentially a drawing academy for an elite body of Seville artists, who met in a room in the Casa de la Contratación to draw from nude models “for the study and benefit” of their art, the Academy was founded in 1660 by Murillo and Francisco de Herrera the Younger who were elected as presidents, though Herrera’s involvement was short-lived.⁷⁹ Murillo participated in the Academy until 1663 and again from 1672 to 1673, though he is said to have organized private life-drawing sessions in his own house in the 1670s after withdrawing from the Academy.⁸⁰ According to a recent study by Antonio García Baeza, the foundation of the Academy of Drawing marked the transition of the artist in Seville from craftsman to a professional, the metamorphosis of the mechanical worker to a free and scientific professional.⁸¹ However, both Jonathan Brown and Peter Cherry are more sceptical about the role of the Academy. Brown, for example, compares it unfavourably with Pacheco’s earlier Academy which was primarily an intellectual gathering, while Peter Cherry says that its relatively short-lived existence would have been unlikely to change the local art economy in a significant fashion, nor lead to advancements for artists such as greater freedoms in the exercise of their art or higher prices.⁸²

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁷⁹ Peter Cherry, “Murillo’s Drawing Academy”, in Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo*, p. 47. For documents relating to the Academy, including its founding document, see Antonio García Baeza, *Entre el obrador y la academia: la enseñanza de las artes en Sevilla durante la segunda mitad del Seiscientos*, (Sevilla: ICAS, 2014), pp. 207-244.

⁸⁰ Cherry, “Murillo’s Drawing Academy”, p. 51.

⁸¹ Antonio García Baeza, *Entre el obrador y la academia*, p. 28.

⁸² Cherry, “Murillo’s Drawing Academy”, p. 49.

Of note, nonetheless, is a portrait of Philip IV as a protector of painting (fig. 81), now in Pollock House, Glasgow, presented to the academy in 1666 by the artist, the academy's *mayordomo*, Juan Martínez de Gradilla (1635- c.1692), which does highlight the intellectual aspirations of the Seville academy and present a coherent ideology concerning the nobility of art and its scientific study.⁸³ The portrait was a memorial to the king who had died the year before and who was well known for his interest in painting. He is flanked by putti bearing the attributes of drawing, on his left, and painting, on his right. The painting also includes images of the prints that illustrated Vicente Carducho's and Albrecht Dürer's treatises, and references to Pacheco's and Vasari's books.⁸⁴ An inscription declares the king a "professor" or practitioner of the liberal art of painting who would consider giving up the throne in order to dedicate himself to this art, proof of the noble status of the art of painting. Murillo's *Self-Portrait*, once owned by Nicolas Omazur but now in the National Gallery, London, is also a declaration of the sophisticated nature of the image in Seville (fig. 1). Drawing and measure are shown to the right of the artist, corresponding to their status as the basis for painting, while to the left painting is represented by brushes and palette with pigment. In the middle is the artist whose right hand appears to come out of the painting as it reaches over the edge of the fictive sculptural frame, a demonstration of the painter's ability to deceive the eye and toy with illusions of reality.

4.4 Secular images

Although Pacheco relates the nobility of painting to its religious content, stating, as we have seen previously, that sacred images are "the most illustrious and majestic part [of painting] and that which gives it greater glory and splendour", he nonetheless acknowledges that they are not the sole application of painting.⁸⁵ Religious paintings did predominate in Seville in this period and account for around 90% of the paintings by Murillo which are extant today. However, collectors' inventories of the period also feature other types of paintings.

⁸³ Cherry, "Murillo's Drawing Academy", p. 50-1.

⁸⁴ Portús Pérez, "Discourses on the Art of painting in Seville in Justino de Neve's Time", p. 57.

⁸⁵ Pacheco, *El Arte de la Pintura*, I, p. 204, trans in Brown, *Images and Ideas*, p. 57.

Approximately forty-four percent of the works in the collection of Nicolas Omazur were religious subjects, seven percent were portraits, while still lifes accounted for about fifteen percent of the collection and landscapes another thirteen percent. In addition, eleven percent were subjects taken from mythology and antiquity and another ten percent were genre.⁸⁶ The genre subjects include two *bodegones* by Velázquez (inv. nos. 169 and 170), a picture by Brouwer of “some ruffians”; a tavern scene by David Teniers featuring sailors warming themselves in front of a fire; others of a “nude trimming her nails”, which is not attributed to any school, and interiors with people playing music.⁸⁷ In the inventory of 1698 which was drawn up by Omazur’s son after his death, there is a description of two paintings which match *bodegones* by Velázquez in subject matter, though not in size: “one painted with an old woman frying a pair of eggs and a youth with a melon in his hand and in the other some men eating at a set table” (inv. nos. 126 and 127). There were also Murillo’s paintings of *Urchin with a Dog and Basket* (inv. no. 32) and *Peasant Girl with Basket of Fruit and Flowers* (inv. no. 33), both of which are today dated to the 1650s before Omazur arrived in Seville. There are also the two allegories of spring and summer by Murillo which Omazur acquired from the estate of Justino de Neve.

The presence of secular works in these Seville collections, most notably landscape, still life, portrait and genre painting, belies the overwhelming importance assigned to the most esteemed category of narrative painting, - religious images and history painting - in Spanish and Italian treatises on art of the period. Pacheco assigns great importance to the problem of the hierarchy of genres in his treatise, dedicating two chapters of the Book III of *El Arte de la Pintura* to a discussion of the subject. Below narrative painting were the genres of still lifes, landscapes animals, *bodegones* and portraiture, categories which make up forty-five percent of Omazur’s collection and account for fifty-five percent of the collection belonging to the Duke of Alcalá. For Pacheco, the genres are primarily a question of the practice of the painter. In her book *La literatura Artística española del siglo XVII*, the art historian Karin Hellwig notes that Pacheco

⁸⁶ See Duncan Kinkead, “The Picture Collection of Don Nicolas Omazur”, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 128 (1986), pp 132-144.

⁸⁷ Kinkead, “The Picture Collection of Don Nicolas Omazur”, p. 136.

explains the amount of *ingenio* and drawing, practice and colour involved in each type of painting, which in turn determines the hierarchy of the genres.⁸⁸

The lowest form of painting is considered to be the depiction of fruit and flowers, which Pacheco deals with at the end of a chapter on gilding techniques.⁸⁹ There is a recognition that flower and fruit painting involves skill in the representation of glass vases and other vessels as well as in lighting and the grouping of objects, though he adds that Vázquez also “achieved what other painters of fruit do not, that is, painting figures with as much skill as he showed in the inanimate things”.⁹⁰ He says that this type of painting merely requires the use of fine colours and accuracy of representation, nor is any special knowledge needed. Thus it attracts amateur or unskilled painters, and Pacheco observes that “In our times as well there is no shortage of artists attracted by the entertainment of this kind of painting, the ease with which it is accomplished, and the delight engendered by its variety.”⁹¹ Therefore, as Peter Cherry notes, despite the great prestige of flower painting in northern Europe, Italy and Spain, still life was relegated to the bottom of the hierarchy following the example of Pliny, and seen as of far less importance than figurative history.⁹²

Pacheco puts greater value on landscape since this involves a basic knowledge of drawing, although the role of colour is of greater significance. He says: “The Flemings especially have been much inclined to this [landscape painting], using tempera and oil for the disposition of the sky and the land, with its fields, gardens and rivers.”⁹³ He gives extensive and very precise instructions on how to paint various types of landscape.⁹⁴ In chapter eight, Pacheco goes on to deal with the painting of animals and birds, “arrangements of fish and other still-lives, and the ingenious invention of portraits taken from life”.⁹⁵ For animals and birds, living beings as opposed to inanimate objects, practice, colour and accurate imitation are all important for the painter and Pacheco

⁸⁸ Karin Hellwig, *La literatura Artística española del siglo XVII*, trans Jesús Espino Nuño, (Madrid: Visor, 1999), p. 265-6.

⁸⁹ Zahira Veliz, ed & trans., *Artists' Techniques in Golden Age Spain: six treatises in translation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 91-3.

⁹⁰ Veliz, p. 93.

⁹¹ Veliz, p. 91.

⁹² Peter Cherry, *Still Life and Genre Painting in Spain during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century*, unpublished doctoral thesis, (University of London, 1992), p. 17.

⁹³ Veliz, p. 93.

⁹⁴ Veliz, pp. 93-6.

⁹⁵ Veliz, p. 96.

advises any artist whose studies from life prove to be inadequate to “resort to the paintings of Bassano, who was excellent in this”.⁹⁶

Bodegones occupy an intermediate point between still life and portraiture which he describes as a kind of still life “with different food and drinks” and paintings of “ridiculous figures with various and ugly subjects to provoke laughter.” He adds that “All these things, made with valour and in the good manner, may be entertaining and demonstrate liveliness and ingenuity in composition” and require more care from the artist to make their movements appear natural, citing a convincing painting of the fierce engagement of a dog and cat fighting over a bone in a painting of *The Holy Family with Saint Ann*, 1575, by Juan Fernández de Navarrete, el Mudo, (1526-1579), which is in the Escorial (fig. 82).⁹⁷ Pacheco goes on to refer to precedents from antiquity for this type of painting, such as the Greek painter Dionysius who painted “ordinary and comic things” and Piraeicus who “painted humble things such as barber’s shops, foods and similar thing.... these paintings gave great delight and in this the artist achieved his highest glory”.⁹⁸

Pacheco defends *bodegones* against accusations of being unworthy of esteem. This is widely held to be a reaction to the more doctrinaire Vincente Carducho’s attack on the genre (and by implication on Velázquez) in his treaty on painting published in Madrid in 1633, *Diálogos de la Pintura. Su defensa, origen, esencia, definición, modos y diferencias*. In his chapter on the different modes of painting, Carducho vehemently denounces the making of portraits of people of low class and the popularity of *bodegones* with slovenly picaros and dirty little women:

... and those artists that have known so little or have had so little regard as to debase generous Art to lowly ideas, as today can be seen in so many genre paintings [*cuadros de bodegones*] with loose and extremely base subjects, some of drunks, others of cardsharps [*taures*] and similar things, without any more ingenuity or argument than the painter having fancied portraying four dishevelled rogues [*pícaros*] and two slovenly sluts, to the discredit of Art, and the little reputation of the Artist.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Veliz, p. 96.

⁹⁷ Veliz, p. 97.

⁹⁸ Veliz, p. 97.

⁹⁹ Vincente Carducho, V., *Diálogos de la Pintura*. [1633], (Madrid: Manuel Galiano, 1865), p. 253; trans. in Brooke and Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, p. 15.

However, Pacheco, who was Velázquez's father-in-law, states that since the painting of *bodegones* also involves the painting of figures, *ingenio* is required and they can also bring the artist great praise:

Well, then, are *bodegones* unworthy of esteem? It is very clear that indeed they should be praised if they are painted as my son-in-law paints them, achieving such superiority in this that no place is left for others; his works merit the greatest esteem. It was from these beginnings and from portraits, of which we shall speak later, that he discovered how to copy nature accurately, inspiring the valiant efforts of many with his powerful example.¹⁰⁰

For Pacheco, the figures must imitate nature artfully, be well drawn, possess good colouring, seem to be alive and be equal to other things copied from nature in the same composition.¹⁰¹ Portraiture he describes as “a part of painting so pleasant and worthy that the *buenos ingenios* readily embrace it”, though he readily admits that the grandeur of art does not depend on it.¹⁰² The great masters aspired to something more difficult and thus dedicated themselves to the painting of histories: the fame of an Apelles, Raphael or Titian “did not proceed from their portraits (although these were marvellous), but rather from the invention, skill and grandeur of their histories”.¹⁰³ However, he goes on to compare the portraitist to the poet, saying that:

as long as he does not default on the other great obligations of painting, then such skill heightens and enriches his art and gives him access to the greatest sovereigns in the world – and those who are accomplished in portraiture are not excluded from the merits of great painters.¹⁰⁴

Pacheco lists great artists who were also great portraitists, then outlines in great detail what is required in the making of a portrait: “that the portrait appear very much like the sitter” and “that the portrait be well drawn, and painted in a good manner of *colorido*, with strength and relief”.¹⁰⁵ Once again he cites Velázquez' accomplishments as an example of how the artist successfully trained himself in the art of representing emotions through the study of nature:

While still a boy, he bribed a fellow apprentice to serve as a model in various actions and postures: sometimes crying, sometimes laughing, without excusing any difficulty of drawing. He drew many heads from this boy in charcoal and

¹⁰⁰ Veliz, p. 97.

¹⁰¹ Veliz, p. 97.

¹⁰² Veliz, p. 99.

¹⁰³ Veliz, p. 100.

¹⁰⁴ Veliz, p. 100.

¹⁰⁵ Veliz, p. 100-101.

highlight on blue paper, as well as many others also from life, with which he gained his great assurance in portraiture.¹⁰⁶

Although Pacheco does not break the traditional order of the genres, Karin Hellwig points out that he does make a unique reassessment of the painting of portraits and *bodegones*.¹⁰⁷ Skill in drawing, *ingenio* and invention were categories normally linked to history painting, but Pacheco considers that a large percentage of *ingenio* and invention are needed in order to paint a good portrait. He also stresses the importance of good drawing rather than colour, as is more usual.¹⁰⁸ *Ingenio* was also required for *bodegones*. Thus, he makes a virtue out of defending the genres in which Spanish painters excelled in the face of the traditional hierarchy of picture categories.

4.5 Prints

“No medium found wider distribution and none was more effective in spreading pictorial ideas than the print” was the assessment of Martin Soria in his 1948 article about Flemish sources of Baroque painting in Spain, which he considered as important an influence in the peninsula as Italian artistic sources.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, the Spanish art historian, Julián Gállego considers that the repertory of images kept by artists contributed to the creation of a “corpus” of images so large that it led to a true culture “*simbólica*” in Golden Age Spain in which the print played a prominent role.¹¹⁰ In this section, I shall examine the status of the print in early modern Seville through documentary evidence from artists’ inventories, observational evidence of the use of prints as compositional sources in the works of Murillo and other Golden Age painters plus textual evidence in Pacheco’s treatise, *El Arte de la Pintura*.

Inventories of the goods of artists in the Iberian Peninsula suggest that by the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even relatively provincial artists owned impressive and varied collections of prints, despite the scarcity of print production in Spain itself.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Veliz, p. 103.

¹⁰⁷ Hellwig, *La literatura Artística española*, p. 268.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 268-269.

¹⁰⁹ Martin Soria, “Some Flemish Sources of Baroque Painting in Spain”, *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 30. no. 4 (1948), p. 249.

¹¹⁰ Julián Gállego, *Visión y símbolos en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro*, (Madrid: Aguilar, 1972).

¹¹¹ See Zahira Véliz Bomford, “The Authority of Prints in Early Modern Spain”, *Hispanic Research Journal*, vol. 9, no.5, (2008), pp. 416-436; also Benito Navarrete Prieto, *La pintura andaluza del siglo XVII y sus fuentes grabadas*, (Madrid: Fundación de Apoya a la Historia del Arte Hispánico, 1998),

The conservator Zahira Véliz Bomford pointed out in her article on prints in early modern Spain that an artist in the provincial city of Toro possessed prints made after works by Titian, Raphael, Michelangelo, Federico Zuccaro, Parmigianino and Frans Floris among a total of approximately 390 prints listed in the 1581 inventory of his possessions.¹¹²

In contrast, the library of the Madrid painter, Jerónimo de Ezquerro, contained over 4000 prints, including prints by Martin de Vos, Albrecht Dürer, Gabriel Perelle, David Teniers, Antonio Tempesta, Abraham Bloemaert, Salvatore Rosa, Carlo Maratta, Rubens and Veronese.¹¹³ The 1638 inventory of the goods belonging to Vicente Carducho, court artist and author of the treatise, *Diálogos de la Pintura*, noted almost 700 prints, mounted and bound in volumes, organised according to engraver or iconography.¹¹⁴ Juan van der Hamen, the Spanish master of still life painting, possessed nearly 1000 prints when he died in 1631, of which about half, according to William Jordan, were listed by artist or engraver and by subject, including images by Dürer, Lucas van Leyden, Tempesta, Bassano, Schiainossi and Sadeler.¹¹⁵ The Valencian artist Vicente Salvador Gómez is recorded as having around 800 prints in his possession at his death in 1673, some of which were described as “*usades; usades y rompudes*”, indicating that they may well have been employed physically in the making of compositions.¹¹⁶

In Seville, the inventory dated 1623 of the sculptor Andrés Ocampo listed 232 prints and 30 rolls of designs or sketches, a quantity of drawings by hand and outline sketches.¹¹⁷ The painter Francisco Polanco who was active in Seville in the first half of

chapter 3; Antonio Gallego Gallego, *Historia del grabado en España*, (Madrid, Ediciones Cátedra, 1979), chapters 1-3.

¹¹² Véliz Bomford, “The Authority of Prints in Early Modern Spain”, *Hispanic Research Journal*, Vol. 9, No.5, (2008), p. 417.

¹¹³ Benito Navarrete Prieto, *La pintura andaluza del siglo XVII y sus fuentes grabadas*, note 203, p. 309.

¹¹⁴ María Luisa Caturla, “Documentos en torno a Vicencio Carducho”, *Arte España: Revista de la Sociedad Española de Amigos de Arte*, vol.26, no.3, (1968-69), pp. 177-221, cited in Véliz Bomford, “The Authority of Prints in Early Modern Spain”, p.417.

¹¹⁵ William Jordan, “Juan van der Hamen y Leon”, unpublished PhD dissertation, New York University, (1967-8), pp. 213-40, cited in Véliz Bomford, “The Authority of Prints in Early Modern Spain”, p. 417.

¹¹⁶ Salvador Salort Pons, M. J. López, and Benito Navarrete, “Vicente Salvador Gómez, Alonso Cano y la pintura valenciana de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII”, *Archive Español de Arte*, (296, 2001), p.401, cited in Véliz Bomford, “The Authority of Prints in Early Modern Spain”, p.418.

¹¹⁷ Navarrete Prieto, *La pintura andaluza del siglo XVII*, pp. 68-9: “*Un cajón grande con doscientas y treynta dos estampas medianas y con treinta rollos de traças todos del dicho cajón y cantidad de dibujos de manos y rasguños y traças, Sebastiano de Arquitectura otro de perspectiva de Daniel Barbaro... Otro de Alberto Durero de medidas. Un libro de estampas y dibujos de Mano.*”

the seventeenth century possessed “100 estampas de papel” according to the short inventory of his goods dated 1651.¹¹⁸ The much longer 1703 inventory of the possessions of the Seville painter and engraver, Matías de Arteaga listed amongst his books: “*Cinco libros de Arquitectura*”, “*tres libros de Flos Sanctorum*”, “*dos libros de estampas*” and amongst his painting materials: “*100 estampas de diferentes dibujos y retratos*”.¹¹⁹

The art historian Benito Navarrete Prieto, who has written extensively about Murillo and who analysed the inventories of goods and testaments of seventeenth-century Andalusian artists in his work *La pintura andaluza del siglo XVII y sus fuentes grabadas*, noted that, above all, their libraries were full of religious books: the lives of saints, books of prayers, illustrated bibles, *Flos Sanctorum*, manuals on ethics, and most notably, the evangelical pictorial narration by Padre Nadal, *Imágenes de la Historia Evangélica*, which constituted a precious resource for many artists; also classic books on architecture (Vignola, Vitruvius, Serlio, Labacco) and books on perspective, some with engravings by Hans Vredeman de Vries. Amongst the treatises were Carducho and J. Butrón (*Discursos apologéticos en que se defiende la ingenuidad del arte de la pintura*, Madrid, 1626), and occasionally Vasari, but omnipresent were Dürer’s prints and his *Simetría*. Sometimes there appeared the prints of Lucas van Leyden and those of Antonio Tempesta, especially his series of emperors mounted on horses.¹²⁰ In addition, literature on emblems was also in circulation amongst artists in Andalucía, such as the famous emblems of Otto Vaenius and those of Solórzano.¹²¹ Julian Gállego has indicated that Valdés Leal, for example, must have used Juan Francisco de Villava’s *Empresas espirituales y morales*, published in 1613, for his *Finis Glorae Mundi* in the Hospital de la Santa Caridad.¹²²

In a celebrated paragraph in relation to his biography of Murillo, Palomino refuted foreigners who proclaimed that Murillo must have made a visit to Italy by asserting that they had failed to understand that Italy had been transferred to Spain through statues, eminent painting, prints and books:

¹¹⁸ Duncan Kinkead, *Pintores y Doradores en Seville, 1650 -1699: Documentos*, (Bloomington, Indiana: AuthorHouse, 2006) p. 453.

¹¹⁹ Kinkead, *Pintores y Doradores en Seville*, pp. 39-44.

¹²⁰ Navarrete Prieto, *La pintura andaluza del siglo XVII*, pp. 65-6.

¹²¹ Navarrete Prieto, *La pintura andaluza del siglo XVII*, p.66.

¹²² Gállego, *Visión y símbolos en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro*, p. 96.

*Y es el caso, que los extranjeros no quieren conceder en esta arte el laurel de la Fama a ningún español, si no ha pasado por las aduanas de Italia: sin advertir, que Italia se ha transferido a España en las estatuas, pinturas, eminentes, estampas, y libros*¹²³

Murillo's library passed to his son, the canon Gaspar Esteban Murillo, and their libraries were disposed of in 1709.¹²⁴ Amongst the 577 works were illustrated books which would have been used by the artist on various occasions, such as the *Bavaria Sancta et piadosa* by Padre Matthäus Raderer which was an inspiration for Murillo's painting of Santa Isabel and his *Joseph and his Brethren*, c. 1665-1670, Wallace Collection, as well as the *Empresas políticas* by Saavedra Fajardo, the *Flos Sanctorum* and Samuel Marolois' *De Perspectiva* and his *Artis Muniendi* on fortifications. As regards treatises, there was Vignola in Italian, Carducho's *Diálogos de la Pintura* and Vitruvius.¹²⁵ There is no mention of prints either in Murillo's will or in the auction of his goods in 1682, although 23 history books, 5 maps and many paintings were sold then.¹²⁶

However, Navarrete Prieto adds that one can deduce from a study of his paintings that Murillo had to have known, and possibly possessed, a certain number of prints. Navarrete Prieto points out that in his youth, Murillo used the prints of Cornelius Cort, in particular *The Annunciation with Prophets*, while later, one can discern the use of engravings by Jacob Matham after Abraham Bloemaert and also the use of painters of the Prague School such as the Flemish painter Bartholomeus Spranger as well as the work of Rubens.¹²⁷ Navarrete Prieto observed, for example, that in Murillo's painting *Christ After the Flagellation, Consoled by Angels*, c. 1655-1670, the upper part of the angel on the right is based on an engraving by Jacob Matham while the lower part of this same angel derives from another engraving by Jan Herman Muller taken from a composition of Bartholomeus Spranger (figs 83 – 85).¹²⁸ This is typical of his practice of taking a detail or partial aspect of a print or painting and incorporating it into his own works, avoiding repetitions or inferior work.

¹²³ Antonio Palomino, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica*, [1724] (Madrid: Aguilar, 1988), p. 411.

¹²⁴ Navarrete Prieto, *La pintura andaluza del siglo XVII*, see pp. 69-70.

¹²⁵ Navarrete Prieto, *La pintura andaluza del siglo XVII*, p.70.

¹²⁶ See Kinkead, *Pintores y Doradores en Seville*, pp.377-385 for the two inventories.

¹²⁷ Navarrete Prieto, *La pintura andaluza del siglo XVII*, p. 70.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57; see also Stratton-Pruitt, Susan, *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo*, cat. no. 12, pp. 134-6.

Aside from the influence of Italian artists such as Guido Reni, the Genovese painter Giovachino Assereto, Michelangelo, Caravaggio and the engravings of Rafael, Titian, Francesco Vanni and Stefano della Bella, Valdivieso also notes the influence of Rubens and Van Dyck in Murillo's paintings and, cites as well the already mentioned Matham, Bloemaert, Cort, the artists Johannes Sadeler, Boethius Adams Bolswert, Crispijn van de Passe and Lucas Vosterman.¹²⁹ Also well-known is Murillo's use of a series of ten etchings by the renowned French printmaker, Jacques Callot, to generate initial ideas for his six scenes featuring the Biblical story of the Prodigal Son, adapting the typology of the figures in the engravings to his own pictorial style and his own historical period, as for example in his painting, *The Prodigal Son Feeding Swine*, c. 1660 (figs. 30 and 86).¹³⁰ Martin Soria, in the article mentioned at the start of this section, highlighted an early use by Murillo of a print from the distinguished Antwerp engraver, Schelte à Bolswert's *Life of St. Augustine*, in his painting of *St. Augustine Washing Christ's Feet* executed for the convent of San Leandro in Seville around 1655, in which Murillo, at this early stage of his career, in contrast to his later practice, follows the original model relatively closely while turning a horizontal scene into a vertical one and adding a vision of a temple in the upper left of the painting, alluding symbolically to the Church of Christ and accenting the ecclesiastic hierarchy (figs 87 and 88).¹³¹

This culture also informed the paintings of Francisco de Zurbarán and Alonso Cano (1601-1667). Soria highlights the importance of engravings from Antwerp in the work of Zurbarán, more so than any other Spanish master of the period.¹³² He cites, amongst several examples, one of Zurbarán's paintings for his famous series of St Bonaventure, *St Bonaventure's Mediation at the Council of Lyon*, which draws on a *Vita S. Norberti*, a life of the patron of Antwerp by van der Sterre, published there in 1605 with engravings by Theodore Galle, and which is taken from the scene *St Norbert at the Council of Frizlar*.¹³³ Palomino also defended Alonso Cano's invention of *concepts* from printed sources, praising his synthetic approach "quitando y añadiendo, tomaba de alli occasion, para formar conceptos maravillosos".¹³⁴ As Véliz Bomford notes, earlier

¹²⁹ Valdivieso, *Murillo*, pp. 25-6.

¹³⁰ Valdivieso, *Murillo*, p. 99.

¹³¹ Soria, "Some Flemish Sources of Baroque Painting in Spain", p. 255; see also note 36, pp. 255-6 for further examples.

¹³² *Ibid.*, pp. 253-7.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 253-4.

¹³⁴ Palomino, *El museo pictórico*, 1988, vol. III, p. 348, cited in Véliz Bomford, "The Authority of Prints", p. 422.

treatise writers demonstrated an increasing acceptance of the role of prints as compositional sources.¹³⁵ The standard advice to artists was that drawing should be learned initially from the studying and copying of prints, though for masters, an undue reliance on prints in composing scenes signified a deficient imagination. Prints were also seen as a method for artists to gain an understanding of great works which were otherwise inaccessible, as noted earlier in Palomino's discussion of Murillo's talent. Vincente Carducho, though he owned a great many prints, mentions their use largely as documents which convey the design of great works by Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian and Dürer, from which the Disciple can learn the art of composition.¹³⁶

Pacheco, on the other hand, makes frequent references to prints and printmakers, seeing them as a valuable source of ideas, especially for the master who possesses a reservoir of visual ideas, enriched by their study of prints and drawings, from which he can derive inspiration when he is required to invent something new.¹³⁷ As Navarrete Prieto has demonstrated, Pacheco frequently utilised prints as sources for his paintings and drawings and was greatly influenced by the work of the Jesuit Jerónimo Nadal.¹³⁸ Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, originally published in Antwerp in 1593, is a compilation of orthodox biblical iconography of the early Counter-Reformation while his commentaries, the *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* of 1607 which are evolved from the Jesuitical devotional practices of the *Spiritual Exercises*, reiterate the visual content of the prints.¹³⁹ According to Véliz Bomford, Pacheco cites the authority of Nadal twenty times in *El Arte de la pintura*, signalling that, amongst members of the Seville establishment, Nadal's work was "*vademecum* of orthodoxy".¹⁴⁰ Prints, for Pacheco, as well as being a source of inspiration, were also a tool in reinforcing the conservative view of the purpose of pictorial art and his view of the role of Christian artists. In giving advice to artists on how to paint women, Pacheco recommends the use of ancient and modern models and engravings, highlighting the excellent profiles of Dürer, and advocates the work of Catholic painters over that of Protestants.¹⁴¹ Thus, in

¹³⁵ Véliz Bomford, "The Authority of Prints", p. 418.

¹³⁶ Vincente Carducho, *Diálogos de la pintura*, [1633] ed. Francisco Calvo Serraller (Madrid: Turner, 1979), p.226, cited in Véliz Bomford, "The Authority of Prints in Early Modern Spain", p. 420.

¹³⁷ Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, [1649], ed. Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas, (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990), pp. 272-3.

¹³⁸ See Navarrete Prieto, *La pintura andaluza del siglo XVII*, pp. 111-23.

¹³⁹ Véliz Bomford, "The Authority of Prints", p. 42; she also lists a variety of other sources on this topic.

¹⁴⁰ Véliz Bomford, "The Authority of Prints", p. 421.

¹⁴¹ Pacheco, F., *Arte de la pintura*, p. 377: "*lo que haría: del natural sacaría rostros y manos con la variedad y belleza que lo hubiese menester, de mujeres honestas, que a mi ver no tiene peligro, y para las*

addition to helping to overcome the Iberian Peninsula's geographical distance from thriving centres of artistic production in Northern Europe and Italy, and the lack of an established academic drawing tradition, prints in the conservative culture of seventeenth-century Seville could carry the weight of official doctrinal approval, supplementing their inherent artistic authority.

demás partes me valdría de valientes pinturas, papeles de estampa y de mano, de modelos y estatuas antiguas y modernas, y de los excelentes perfiles de Alberto Durero, de manera que, eligiendo lo más gracioso y compuesto evitase el peligro; porque es justo que nos diferencemos en esto los pintores católicos de los gentiles, por estar de por medio la ley de Dios, que nos prohíbe todo lo que nos puede provocar a mal, no sólo a nosotros, pero a los demás.”

Chapter 5: Murillo's Shepherds and the Issue of the Working Poor

This chapter will explore Murillo's painting of *The Adoration of the Shepherds* which is now in the Wallace Collection in London (fig. 3) and discuss how Murillo has provided his commissioner and the viewer with an image, not only of the wonders of the birth of Christ as witnessed by the shepherds, but a representation of the positive role of the working poor, a view prevalent in the discourses discussed in chapter 2 as the solution to the problem of poverty. In addition, Murillo, through his skilful combination of the humble and the exalted, has presented a salutary example for society's lowest members of the obedient acceptance of poverty with humility in a period of profound social crisis.

No fewer than six paintings of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* are convincingly attributed to Murillo, though only one of these versions can be dated with any precision. This is the version now in the Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville (fig. 35), which was originally painted for one of the side chapels of the Convent of the Capuchins in Seville during 1665 – 1668, when Murillo was about fifty years old. The scholar Jonathan Brown also lists a very sketchy preliminary drawing in the chalk medium for this painting which, though executed rapidly and tentatively, does show most of the elements in the final composition such as the kneeling Virgin cradling the Christ Child's head, Saint Joseph standing behind them and a shepherd kneeling to the far left in the foreground (fig. 89).¹ The painting of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Wallace Collection in London, the subject of this chapter, is generally held to be the last version, again dated sometime between 1665 and 1670. A preparatory oil sketch for this version, measuring only 27 x 37cm and painted around the years 1665 – 1670, is now in the Musée Grobet-Labadié, Marseilles (fig. 90).

The two earliest paintings by Murillo of this subject are one in the Hermitage, St Petersburg, thought to have been painted around 1650 (fig. 91), and another version, also assumed to have been painted around 1650, which is now in the Prado (fig. 92). A

¹ Jonathan Brown, *Murillo: Virtuoso Draftsman*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2012), exh. cat. no. 27, pp. 100-103.

painting of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* by Murillo, dated between 1660 and 1665, formerly in the Berlin-Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, was destroyed in 1945 during World War II and today only exists in a black/white photograph of the original (fig. 93). Also connected to the iconography of the Adoration of the Shepherds is a painting titled *The Birth of Christ*, dating from around 1655-60 and now in a private collection in Madrid, which features at the top right of the frame a small image of an angel appearing to the shepherds tending their flocks at night while Mary and Joseph gaze tenderly at the Child in the centre and left foreground respectively (fig. 94).²

The Nativity of Christ has long been the subject of Christian devotional imagery. However, according to Emile Mâle, the highly influential French art historian, there were changes in the iconography of the Nativity between the Middle Ages and its representations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³ In the final centuries of the Middle Ages, the Nativity was portrayed as a scene full of humility and fervour in which the newly-born Child lay naked on the ground, poorer than the most miserable of the children of men; Mary, however, kneeling with her hands joined together in prayer adored him, and Saint Joseph contemplated him with respect. The presence of the ox and donkey reminded the viewer that the Son of God was born in a stable. Mâle notes that nothing was better designed to touch the heart than this poor family abandoned by everyone, ignored by the rest of the world, with only the profound faith of the Mother and adopted father indicating the presence of God: “*La presence de Dieu ne se trahissait que par la foi profonde de la Mère et du père adoptif*”.⁴

In later centuries, the Nativity is linked with the adoration of the shepherds, showing the moment when the Son of God is recognised by man for the first time as opposed to the sad abandonment of the Holy Family in the art of the Middle Ages.⁵ Here the Child lies in a manger and Mary lifts the folds of His covering to display Him to the shepherds

² This list of authenticated works and the dates ascribed to them are taken from the most recent catalogue raisonné of Murillo's paintings: Enrique Valdivieso, *Murillo: Catálogo Razonado de Pinturas*, (Madrid: Ediciones el Viso, 2010); the catalogue numbers of the works listed are as follows: 42, p. 292, (Hermitage version); 43, p. 293, (Prado version); 147, p. 370, (destroyed); 198, pp. 400-1, (Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville); 231, p. 424, (Wallace Collection); 232, p. 425, (Musée Grobet-Labadié, Marseilles); and lastly, the *Nacimiento de Cristo* is catalogue number 94, p. 330.

³ Émile Mâle, *L'art Religieux de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe siècle et du XVIIIe siècle: étude sur l'iconographie après le Concile de Trente: Italie, France, Espagne et Flandres*, (Paris: Armand Colin, 1951), p. 242.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

who have come to admire Him. Through this gesture, the Virgin indicates that she understands that the Son of God is not hers alone but for all men. Often the Child radiates light which illuminates the darkness and faces surrounding the crib, recalling the line from the Gospel according to St. John that Christ was “the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world” (John, 1:9). Around the Holy Family are now arranged shepherds, shepherdesses, marvelling children, dogs and a bound lamb presented by the poor to one poorer than themselves, while angels sometimes appear in the sky above.⁶ According to Mâle, this animated Nativity, rich in people and in light and shade, is the Nativity of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁷ It is the Nativity to be found in this period in Italy, in, for example, the art of Domenichino (fig. 95), Pietro da Cortona and Carlo Maratta, in France in the work of Simon Vouet and Philippe de Champagne (fig. 96) amongst others, and these traits are also present in the Netherlands in the art, for example, of Bloemaert and Rubens (fig. 97). It is equally the Nativity present in Spain since El Greco, whose paintings of the Nativity can be seen in the Prado, the National Museum of Art of Romania and the Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig. 98). It is also the Nativity of Juan del Castillo, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville, Juan de Roelas, Iglesia de la Anunciación, Seville (fig. 99), of Zurbarán, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble (fig. 100), and, of course, Murillo, though Ribera, in his Nativity in the Louvre (fig. 101), hesitates between the two forms by showing the Virgin’s hands clasped in prayer, as does Juan Bautista Maíno in his painting now in the Prado (fig. 102). Mâle does note, however, that these paintings are “at once similar and diverse since each artist expresses his genius through the gradation of light and shade, by the rhythm of the composition, by the nobility or rusticity of the people”.⁸

At the end of his treatise on the art of painting, the Spanish painter and inspector of religious images for the Inquisition in Seville, Francisco Pacheco, published a long iconographic appendix indicating the best way to treat certain religious subjects. In it he instructed that artists should follow the print from Jerome Nadal’s *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, for scenes of the Adoration of the Shepherds, showing the Infant Jesus swaddled lying in the manger.⁹ However, Murillo ignored the recommendation that the Child should always be clothed, as did many of his contemporaries, and instead

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁹ Pacheco, *L’Art de la peinture*, trans. Lauriane Fallay d’Este, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1986), pp 607-8.

depicts the Virgin lifting the Child's covering to reveal the naked Christ to the shepherds in every version he painted of the Nativity. This image of the naked Christ would have appealed both to the Capuchins whose love of poverty was based on the life of Christ as the perfect example of poverty and humility, and also to the poor who would be able to identify with Murillo's images of the Christ Child as naked and poor.

The New Testament of the Bible is clearly the textual source for paintings of the Nativity, with accounts of the event appearing in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. However, the two narratives differ greatly. In Matthew, only the Wise Men who had seen Jesus's star in the east are mentioned, not the shepherds: "And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him; and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts: gold and frankincense, and myrrh." (Matthew, 2:11). In contrast to Murillo's large output of paintings of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, there exists only one version of *the Adoration of the Magi* attributed to him which is now in the Museum of Art in Toledo, Ohio (fig. 104).¹⁰

In the Gospel of Luke, however, it is the shepherds who are assigned a major role in the Nativity while the Wise Men, the Massacre of the Innocents and the Flight to Egypt of the Holy Family featured in the Gospel of Matthew are all absent from Luke. There is a lengthy description of how the angel of the Lord appears to the shepherds keeping watch over their flocks by night, announcing:

And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. And this *shall* be a sign unto you: Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger. And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men. Luke, 2: 10-14)

After the heavenly host praising God had departed, the shepherds make their way to Bethlehem.

And they came with haste, and found Mary, and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger. And when they had seen *it*, they made known abroad the saying which was told to them concerning this child. And all they that heard *it* wondered at those things which were told them by the shepherds. But Mary kept all these things, and pondered *them* in her heart. And the shepherds returned, glorifying

¹⁰ Valdivieso, *Murillo*, cat. No. 148, pp. 370-1.

and praising God for all the things that they had heard and seen, as it was told unto them.” (Luke, 2: 16-20)¹¹

In both these narratives, the birth of Christ is clearly central and similarly, in paintings of the Nativity, the Christ Child and Mary provide the central focus. In Murillo’s paintings, their characterisation and that of Joseph remain broadly similar throughout his career despite changes in his style. As will become evident, in Murillo’s hands, the Biblical past is recast in the artist’s present and the two worlds, the sacred and the profane, intersect and enrich each other.

The Wallace Collection version of Murillo’s *Adoration of the Shepherds* is one of a group of seven paintings which belonged during Murillo’s lifetime to one of his important secular patrons, a very wealthy Genoese merchant, Giovanni Bielato. As noted in the previous chapter, Bielato spent much of his time in Cádiz, a port rising in importance as a centre of commerce to rival Seville, where he is first documented in 1662.¹² In his testament drawn up in Genoa in 1674, Bielato left seven paintings by “Bartolomeo Moriglio de Siviglia”, to be installed in the choir of the Capuchin church in Genoa, along with his remains, declaring:

*Tutti questi sette quadri, che sono, como si è detto, della mano del Moriglio, le lascia alli R. Padri Capuccinidella SS. Concettione de Genova, perchè li ponghino nel lor choro; et perchè per essi non le servono le cornici dorate, vuole che le se ne faccino a propi espese dei esso Sig. Testatore altre di notte, piane a sodisgatione di detti R. Padri Capuccini e conforme loro Ordine.*¹³

As mentioned earlier, it is not known when these paintings entered Bielato’s collection or whether they were bought directly from the artist. The largest and most valuable were *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, purchased in 1846 for what is now the Wallace Collection after passing through several hands, and a painting of similar size of *Joseph and his Brethren* (fig.75), also in the Wallace Collection, which were both valued at 710 liras.¹⁴

In 1690, Fray Gerónimo de Concepción noted Bielato’s devotion to the Capuchin Order in Cádiz, recording that in his testament, Bielato bequeathed 400 thousand ducados for holy works, with sums of money to be divided up amongst the convents and

¹¹ Italics are in the King James Bible.

¹² See Manuel Ravina Martín, “Un padrón de los contribuyentes de Cádiz a mediados del siglo XVII”, *Archivo hispalense* 69 (1976), pp. 149 & 151.

¹³ Angulo Iñiguez, *Murillo*, vol. II, 102-3. Angulo gives details of the Bielato bequest under the entry for Murillo’s painting, *Joseph and his Brethren*, cat. no. 93.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

hospitals of Cádiz, including a large sum for the Convento de Capuchinos de Cádiz which enabled them to commission Murillo's paintings for the high altar of the church.¹⁵

The Capuchins were a strict, reforming branch of the Franciscan Order, first appearing in Spain in Cataluña in the late 1570s and spreading to Andalucía in the early 1620s. Dedicated to the original Rule of St Francis of Assisi, they emulated the extreme poverty he preached, considering that his ideals had been undermined by later generations of Franciscans. Poverty, according to the first Constitutions of the Capuchins is the foundation of the Franciscan ideal and the friars are exhorted to be truly poor after the example of Christ and His Blessed Mother that they might be rich in divine grace, holy virtues and heavenly treasures.¹⁶ In practice, they applied their simple theory of poverty with extreme rigour, with penitential practices in food and begging for their daily needs, in competition, of course, with the truly needy, the infirm, the elderly and the young, who were poor by virtue of circumstances rather by choice. Like other mendicant orders, the Capuchins were also evangelists. They were involved in missionary work not only abroad in the Americas but also in the Iberian Peninsula, where they were committed to preaching to the poor living in the cities, possibly much as described by the Jesuit Padre de León in his *Grandeza y Miseria en Andalucía* which was discussed in chapter 2, as well as being involved in spiritual ministrations amongst the poor, all mechanisms for persuasion and control of those at the bottom of society. To assist in the practice of mental prayer, the Capuchins filled their churches with devotional images and Murillo's paintings, which emphasize the extreme simplicity and poverty at the core of Capuchin spirituality, are uniquely suited to their world-view.¹⁷

It is possible that Bielato's paintings of *The Immaculate Conception*, *The Charity of Saint Thomas of Villanueva* and *The Adoration of the Shepherds* may have been inspired by a series of similar compositions which Murillo had painted earlier for the

¹⁵ Fray Gerónimo Concepción, *Emporio del orbe, Cádiz, ilustrada, Investigación de sus antiguas grandezas, discurrida en concurso de el gran imperio de España* (Amsterdam: Joan Bus, 1690), 641, cited in Lisa Duffy-Zeballos, *Murillo's Devotional Paintings*, pp. 157-8: "Para cuyo mayor adorno Juan Bielato vezino que fue de Cádiz, y Cavallero Genovés, aviendo muerto en su patria, dexo en su testamento 400 mil ducados de obras pias, en que comprehendio a Cádiz, dexando a todos los Conventos y Hospitales su porción, y a este de Capuchinos 500 pesos de renta, y doze pinturas admirables de Morillo, que se apreciaron en mucho dinero."

¹⁶ Thaddeus MacVicar, O.F.M., *The Franciscan Spirituals and the Capuchin Reform*, ed. by Charles McCarron, O.F.M., (New York: The Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University, 1986), p.83.

¹⁷ See Duffy-Zeballos, *Murillo's Devotional Paintings*, p. 40.

Capuchin Church of Seville between 1665 and 1670.¹⁸ However, the Spanish historian, Arturo Morgado García, writing on artistic consumption in Cádiz during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notes that images of the Immaculate Conception, St Mary Magdalene, St John the Baptist and St Thomas of Villanueva are all commonly found in inventories in Cádiz in this period.¹⁹ The absence of Franciscan saints among Bielato's paintings, in contrast to those painted by Murillo for the Capuchin Church of Seville, suggests that the paintings he acquired correspond to his own devotions rather than those of the Capuchins.

In Bielato's version of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, Murillo depicts the Virgin in a bright cherry red dress with a blue robe kneeling beside the manger. She draws back the radiant Child's covering to present Him to three shepherds, the first to recognise the Son of God. They gaze on Him with adoration and gestures of awe. Two of the shepherds kneel in reverence before the Holy Infant while the third leans over behind them, gazing down intently at the Christ Child. Saint Joseph, enveloped in a voluminous brown cloak and positioned behind the Virgin and Child, gestures to the Child with his right hand while his outstretched left-hand rests on his staff. The naked Christ Child, who emanates divine illumination, directs his gaze upwards towards a heavenly vision of angels descending from above and the Cross formed by the rafters of the stable. The image of the Virgin finds her earthly counterpart in the peasant woman on the far left carrying a small basket with two doves accompanied by an excited youngster who points toward the Christ Child. These two are the only ones who don't gaze directly at the Child. Instead, the woman looks down lovingly at her smiling child who returns her gaze, echoing the gaze of the Virgin beholding her son. The presence of these figures helps to underscore the human love between the Virgin and Child, permitting the viewer greater emotional access to the image. Murillo employs the traditional Post-Tridentine vocabulary of devotional representations of the Virgin and Christ Child in this narrative. Mary is not shown as the Queen of Heaven but as an ideal earthly mother cradling the Child as she gently lifts him up for the shepherds. A phlegmatic ox and donkey on the extreme right of the painting and a curious dog on the left, often seen as a symbol of

¹⁸ Lucy Davis, *Murillo at the Wallace Collection: Painting of the Spanish Golden Age*, London: The Wallace Collection, 2013, p. 17.

¹⁹ Arturo Morgado García, "El consumo artístico en el Cádiz de los siglos XVII y XVIII" in León Carlos Álvarez Santaló, and Carmen Cremades Griñán, eds., *Mentalidad e ideología en el Antiguo Régimen*, (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1993), pp. 206-7.

fidelity, add a domestic tone to the scene, along with the pile of blankets and a straw hat resting on a rock in the bottom right. The rock beside these rustic objects contains Murillo's signature ('Bart.me Murillo fecit'), a sign of the artist's modesty. Overall, it is a composition full of dynamism and movement, imbued with great beauty, intimate tenderness and optimism. In my opinion, the change in format from the vertical format of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* Murillo painted for the Capuchin Church of Seville, to the horizontal format employed here makes a striking difference (fig. 103). The canvas under consideration in this chapter is a more inclusive and engaging painting than the ethereal vertical version.

The peasant woman's gift of doves represents the traditional offering for purification after childbirth but is also an allegorical symbol of the resurrection.²⁰ The shepherd in the foreground of the painting has his hand on a bound lamb lying beside the manger. The image of the bound lamb is found in the engraving *In Aurora Natalis Domini: De Pastoribus* (fig. 105) in Jerome Nadal's widely circulated devotional manual, and this motif is also present in other Spanish seventeenth-century paintings of the Nativity mentioned earlier, such as El Greco's versions of the subject in Valencia, New York and Budapest, Juan Bautista Maíno's version in the Prado, Francisco de Zurbarán's for the retablo of the Cartuja de Jerez de la Frontera in the Musée des Beaux Arts, Grenoble and Ribera's version now in the Louvre.²¹ Murillo also repeats the motif in the version he painted for the Church of the Capuchinos in Seville (fig. 35), while in an earlier version destroyed during World War II, the lamb is slung over the shoulders of one of the shepherds (fig. 93), a motif also present in Nadal's version of the Adoration of the Shepherds. The lamb symbolizes Christ's sacrifice, a sacrifice which the Child is foreseeing in the vision of the Cross at the top of the painting, and the Incarnation of Christ in the Eucharist. The shepherds kneeling before the Christ Child mimic the attitude of the faithful as they kneel before the altar during the consecration of the Host, calling upon the "Lamb of God" to take away the sins of the world. The sacramental association with the birth of Christ is reiterated in the words of the liturgical prayer *Gloria in excelsis* which is derived from the angels' hymn of praise at the birth of Jesus (Luke 2:14).²² Although Murillo's painting includes a couple of small, frolicking

²⁰ Davis, *Murillo at the Wallace Collection*, p. 37.

²¹ See Pacheco, *L'Art de la peinture*, trans. Lauriane Fallay d'Este, pp 607-8, for a reference to Nadal's print of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*.

²² Duffy-Zeballos, *Murillo's Devotional Paintings*, p. 84.

angels descending from heaven and hovering above the Christ Child, which also feature more prominently in the version for the Church of the Capuchinos in Seville, this motif is omitted in all of his earlier versions.

The Franciscans were deeply involved in the evangelical role of the Catholic Church set out in the Council of Trent between 1545 and 1563. They were particularly devoted to the birth of Christ and often erected nativity scenes in their churches in imitation of the one St Francis constructed in the church of Greccio, where, according to the legend, the Child miraculously appeared on the altar during mass, “asleep in that manger whom the blessed father Francis embraced in both of his arms and seemed to wake it from sleep”²³. In the *Tree of Life*, St Bonaventure encourages the reader to participate in the events of the Nativity during the celebration of mass and imagine oneself present at the event:

Now then, my soul, embrace that divine manger; press your lips upon and kiss the boy’s feet. Then your mind keep the shepherds’ watch, marvel at the assembling host of angels, join in the heavenly melody, singing with your voice and heart: Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace to men of good will ²⁴

The Christ Child who lies in the manger emanating divine illumination was a common way of representing the Adoration in this period. In Murillo’s painting, the dark interior affords a stage for the symbolic illumination of the scene by a faint light coming at a slant from the left. This earthly light which barely illuminates the interior contrasts with the bright, divine light radiating from the Infant Christ, recalling St Bridget’s mystical vision of the nativity with the infant Christ “from whom such ineffable light and splendour radiated, that the sun could not be compared to it”.²⁵ Thus Murillo’s painting represents Christ as the Light of the World, “the true light, which enlightens every man, that cometh into the world” (John 1:9), giving pictorial form to Christian discourses contrasting the light of faith with the darkness of unbelief and to the importance of baptism as a sacrament intended for the inner whitening of all humans.²⁶ As noted by Tanya J. Tiffany, in her book on Diego Velázquez and the culture of seventeenth-century Seville, Alonso de Sandoval, a Sevillian-born Jesuit working in the New World,

²³ *Ibid*, pp. 83-4.

²⁴ St Bonaventure, *The soul’s journey into God; The tree of life; The life of St. Francis*, trans. and intro. by Ewert Cousins, (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), p. 129.

²⁵ Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations of St Bridget*, (Rockford, IL: Tan Books, 1984), p. 26.

²⁶ See Carmen Fracchia, “The Place of African Slaves in Early Modern Spain”, in Andrew Spicer and Jane Stevens Crawshaw, eds., *The Place of the Social Margins*, Routledge Studies in Cultural History. (New York and London: Routledge, 2016), p. 19.

emphasized the need to “illuminate” Africans who languished in Spiritual darkness in his *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* which was published in Seville in 1627.²⁷

Furthermore, Sandoval explains that “in a heart that is not illuminated by the rays of faith, these traces of good [given by God] are so blinded, that a man’s soul more resembles that of a beast than one made in God’s image”.²⁸

The universality of the Christian message is conveyed in Murillo’s painting through the humanity of the shepherds and the group adoring the Christ Child represent the various stages of human life: childhood, youth, maturity and old age. The material poverty of the individuals in this pastoral setting is underlined by the dirty sole of the protruding bare foot of the shepherd kneeling in the foreground of the picture. His jacket is ragged and very dark in colour; his breeches are brown and torn; a white shirt pokes through a tear in his jacket. The garb of all three shepherds is typical of poorly dressed rural workers of Murillo’s period, especially the muted earth colours and the trousers which end and are open around the knee.²⁹ The peasant woman’s attire is also typical of her class in the seventeenth century, with her bare neckline, sleeveless smock, bunched-up headdress and the subdued colours of her reddish-brown skirt and the ochre shawl wrapped around her shoulders.³⁰ Other naturalistic details deployed by Murillo include the pile of blankets and straw hat, objects of daily life, which lie below the cattle in the left foreground, the basket of doves clutched by the woman with the excited child, the lined face and thinning grey hair of the oldest shepherd, the manger roughly fashioned from small planks of wood and overflowing with straw, and the companionable fashion in which Joseph gestures towards the Child. These all lend the painting a feeling of immediacy and intimacy that makes its message all the more convincing, enabling men to unite with God. Thus, Murillo’s painting effectively fulfils the Counter-Reformation decree by the Council of Trent in its final session in 1563 about the didactic effectiveness of images in instructing the faithful and promoting virtue which were discussed in chapter 4 in the section on the nature of Christian images: “...also that

²⁷ Alonso de Sandoval, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud*, ed. by Enriqueta Vila Vilar, (Madrid: Alianza, 1987), p.297, cited in Tanya J. Tiffany, *Diego Velázquez’s Early Paintings and the Culture of Seventeenth-Century Seville*, (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), p. 114. See also her note 48, p.190 for further information on Sandoval’s publication.

²⁸ Sandoval, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud*, p. 233, cited in Tiffany, *Diego Velázquez’s Early Paintings* p. 114.

²⁹ See Carmen Bernis, *El traje y los tipos sociales en El Quijote*, (Madrid: Ediciones el Viso, 2001), pp. 395-427.

³⁰ Carmen Bernis, *El traje y los tipos sociales*, pp. 434-5.

great profit is derived from all holy images, not only because the people are thereby reminded of the benefits and gifts bestowed on them by Christ, but also because ... salutary examples are set before the eyes of the faithful".³¹

The shepherds in Murillo's painting function both as representatives of humanity in the narrative of the Nativity and as salutary examples of the acceptance of poverty with humility, in effect, a strongly political message. It underlines the importance of a submissive populace less than twenty years after the popular uprising of 1652 in Seville when, according to the contemporary chronicler Don Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, mobs took to the streets of Seville shouting "*Viva el Rey de España, y muera el mal gobierno*".³² Artisans, labourers and peasants made desperate by high prices due to bad harvests, outbreaks of plague and monetary manipulations, joined forces to almost take over the city before the revolt was rapidly suppressed.³³ There were similar riots in other Andalusian cities between 1648 and 1653, including one in Córdoba in 1653.³⁴ However, conflicts between pastoral and agricultural interests were also a feature of rural life in this period. The migratory flocks of merino sheep controlled by the Mesta, the powerful association of Spanish shepherds and livestock owners which lasted from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, were estimated to number about two million at the beginning of the seventeenth century.³⁵ These flocks migrated from the mountains to the lowlands during winter and vice-versa in summer where they grazed on common pasturelands, to the detriment of local farmers. Spanish monarchs granted the Mesta legal privileges, such as minimal rents for pasturelands, right of passage and grazing, thereby forestalling, according to early and mid-twentieth century scholars, the development of an enclosure movement and causing stagnant agricultural productivity and Spain's decline. This old view of the Mesta, however, has recently been challenged by a number of authors such as the economic historian Mauricio Drelichman.³⁶ It may

³¹ *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. Henry J. Schroeder, Rockford, (Illinois: Tan Books and Publishers, 1978), p. 216.

³² Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares*, vol. 5, p. 77.

³³ See also Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Historia de Sevilla: La Sevilla del siglo XVII*, (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1984), pp. 26-29; and the entry for 1652 in Morales Padrón, ed., *Memorias de Sevilla (1600-1678)*, pp.130-132.

³⁴ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, A., *Alteraciones andaluzas*, (Madrid: Narcea, 1973), p. 139.

³⁵ Marcelin Defourneaux, *Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age*, trans. by Newton Branch, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1970), p. 101.

³⁶ Mauricio Drelichman, "License to till: The privileges of the Spanish Mesta as a case of second-best institutions", *Explorations in Economic History* 46 (2009), pp. 221-2; see also Jeffrey B. Nugent, and Nicholas Sanchez, "The efficiency of the Mesta: A parable", *Explorations in Economic History*, vol. 26,

be that the contemporary shepherds portrayed in meticulous detail in Murillo's painting are representatives of sedentary shepherding as opposed to those involved in transhumance. Their sheep are not the merino sheep which were the mainstay of migratory flocks and Spain's wool trade, but rather a more local breed, though Murillo did paint merino sheep in the much earlier version of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, c. 1650, in the Prado (fig. 92), and also in his depiction of the young Christ as the shepherd of the faithful in *The Good Shepherd*, 1660-65, in the George Lane Collection, Ashton Wold (fig. 66). Moreover, in the canvas, *Laban Searching for His Stolen Household Gods in Raquel's Tent*, c. 1660, Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 106), which was probably one of the paintings of the Life of Jacob displayed on the façade of the marqués de Ayamonte y Villamanrique's palace during the fiesta for the church of the Santa María Blanca described by Torre Farfán, there are flocks of sheep in the far distance being herded by groups of men which appear indicative of transhumance. There is an ambiguity hidden at the heart of Murillo's painting since the idea of unity and universality is to some extent undermined by the association of the shepherds with the conflicts of the wool trade and rivalries between different groups of flock owners.³⁷

The sanctification of poverty through the example of Christ's life on earth as a poor man was a prevalent idea across medieval Europe.³⁸ As previously discussed in chapter 2 on the discourses of poverty, poverty was not just an economic category but a divinely ordained state enabling the practice of virtue by both givers and recipients of alms. Although the shepherds portrayed in the Nativity are perfect examples of the blessed poor ("Blessed be ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God", Luke 6: 20), they are not the figures normally used to represent the Christian image of sacred poverty in religious paintings of the Renaissance and Baroque era. Rather the image of sacred poverty is constructed through paintings intended to show that works of corporeal mercy to the weak and the sick provide one of the prime means of connection with God, as we shall see in the next chapter.³⁹ This category includes the placement of beggars, often

Issue 3, (July 1989), pp 261-284; Carla Rahn Phillips and William D. Phillips, *Spain's Golden Fleece: Wool Production and the Wool Trade from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997) for a fuller discussion of these issues.

³⁷ See Carla Rahn Phillips and William D. Phillips, *Spain's Golden Fleece*, chapter 4, especially pp. 62-4.

³⁸ See for example the discussions in Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social history*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer, (New Haven & London: Yale University, 1986), pp. 20-3; also, Robert Jütte, *Poverty and deviance in early modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.194.

³⁹ See Tom Nichols, *The Art of Poverty: irony and ideal in sixteenth-century beggar imagery*, (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), for his discussion of the equation of the

rendered in classical poses, on the steps of temples, as well as saints doling out alms to needy people, as for example, in the painting by Mateo Cerezo (1637-1666), *Saint Thomas of Villanueva Distributing Alms*, now in the Louvre (fig. 107), which includes both types. These poverty-stricken people are deprived both of material wealth and of the richness of God and of the light. In contrast, the shepherds are portrayed by Murillo as individual examples of the working rural poor in Andalucía in the seventeenth century and as such, would be seen by the viewer as part of the known and fixed social order of his (or her) period. Moreover, they cannot be equated with the contemptible image of the indigent and the unmarried described by the physician and *arbitrista* Pérez de Herrera in his *Discursos del amparo de los legítimos pobres* published in 1598:

...with the great idleness of the life they live, and with the amount of gluttony, always eating and drinking wherever they find it, missing as they do, the use of the Sacraments of the Church, with which they fortify their souls so as not to fall into sin, and the other exercises of devout Christians theirs must be quite great, especially in sensuality, as most of them cohabit; and through the grace of God there are not others even greater, sleeping in doorways and barns and other hidden places, and being accompanied by the turmoil of the life they live, in which depraved, wicked and filthy people persuade them into whatever stupidity.⁴⁰

Nor are they like the stereotypical rustic simpleton, characterized by ingenuity and ignorance, in theatrical works of the period, the so-called *pastor-bobo* analysed by the art historian, Peter Cherry, in his discussion of poverty and Spanish naturalism in *Los pintores de lo real*.⁴¹ As Cherry notes, Murillo retained the tradition of the dignified shepherd in all of his versions of the Nativity and generally eschewed the smiling rustics looking directly out at the viewer who appear in several versions of the Adoration of the Shepherds by Murillo's compatriots. In Zurbarán's version for the Carthusians of Jerez, now in the Musée de Grenoble (fig. 100), for example, the painter has included the figure of a simple-looking peasant woman with a large basket of eggs in the foreground who smiles directly at the viewer while pointing out the Christ Child

image of the poor with the ideal of charity in the chapter 'Treasures of the church: the sacred poor in Italian painting', pp. 136-170.

⁴⁰ Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, *Discursos del amparo de los legítimos pobres*, pp. 25-26, trans. from Benito Navarrete Prieto and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, dirs., *El Joven Murillo*, p. 456.

⁴¹ Peter Cherry, "La dura realidad de la vida pobres", pp. 158-60; see also Gonzalo Hervás Crespo, "Pastores jocosos: escenas de la Natividad desde una perspectiva popular y carnavalesca en el arte español del siglo XVII" in José Antonio Peinado Guzmán and María del Amor Rodríguez Miranda, *Meditaciones en torno a la devoción popular*, (Córdoba: Asociación "Hurtado Izquierdo", 2016), pp. 215-236.

and similarly in Juan de Roelas' *Adoration of the Shepherds* for the Retablo mayor de la Iglesia de la Anunciación in Seville (fig. 99), there is a shepherd with a sheep thrown over his shoulders who is looking directly at the viewer rather than the Christ Child.⁴² Murillo, however, did not deploy a comic figure with roots in the theatre who directly invited the audience to share in the narrative of a staged event. In my view, in Murillo's painting of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, the supernatural event of the birth of Christ is successfully transposed to a human and emotive level without this device.

Another layer of meaning embedded in this painting of the nativity is the portrayal of humble, hard-working shepherds representing the ideal of the peasant who stays working on the land and does not migrate to the city where he would be liable to join the hordes of beggars who plagued major cities in this period. On the condition of the peasantry and the temptation to abandon the land, Domínguez Ortiz quoted the words of Fray Benito de Peñalosa from a work published in 1629:

The condition of the peasantry of Spain is the most wretched and downtrodden to be met with... The word 'peasant'... is associated with coarse food, garlic and onions, crumbs, tough salt meat, old meat, bread of barley or rye, sandals, belted tunics and hoods, rough collars and shirts of yarn, satchels and jackets of hide dressed with oil, huts and cottages, and dilapidated mud built houses... When a farmer comes to the city, who can count the misfortunes he endures and the tricks everyone plays on him, making fun of his clothes and his way of speaking? And who can recount his sufferings at the hands of judges and soldiers who visit his poor village...? So why are we surprised at the marked fall in population in the country towns, villages and hamlets? What I marvel at is that there is anyone left at all.⁴³

I would argue that the ideal of the peasant who works the land and the shepherd dedicated to tending his flock is part of a discourse that values work as a means of combatting poverty in a period of profound social crisis. As discussed previously in Chapter 2, the sixteenth-century treatises dealing with the relief of poverty largely advocated that, aside from licensed begging for the poor and infirm who were unable to work, everyone else who was fit to do so should be made to work, either at home or in

⁴² See also Arsenio Moreno Mendoza, "La Mirada que advierte: la figura del "gracioso" en la pintura barroca Sevillan", *Goya*, 303 (2004), pp. 355-64, for an analysis of the use of this device in these and other Sevillian paintings of the Baroque.

⁴³ Fray Benito de Peñalosa, *Libro de las cinco excelencias del español que despueblan a España*, (Pamplona 1629), vol. II, ii, cited in Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *The Golden Age of Spain 1516-1659*, trans. by James Casey, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), p. 153.

hospitals supporting the needy. In *De subventionem pauperum*, the influential 1526 treatise written by the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives, for example, Vives advocated that:

The able-bodied who remain in the hospitals like drones, living by the sweat of others, should leave and be put to work... For the poor who live at home, work should be furnished by the public officials, by the hospitals, or by private citizens.⁴⁴

Similarly, the Catalan canon Miguel Giginta wrote in his 1579 *Tractado de remedio de los pobres* that the state should: “Rid the many false poor of their free time, as they ruin themselves and the nation by feeding from others’ labour...” and create hospitals to provide living quarters and productive employment for the poor.⁴⁵

In the following century, the *arbitrista* and Franciscan tertiary, Francisco Martínez de Mata, a self-styled “siervo de los pobres afligidos”, argued in the opening paragraph of his *Memorial y Discursos*, written in Seville in the 1650s, that employment in skilled work keeps the population peaceful and calm, while idle people put the Monarchy at risk of civil wars.⁴⁶ As discussed in chapter 2, he thought that industrious workers and manufacturing, such as the production of textiles, were vital in preserving power rather than the possession of mines which produced valuable minerals.⁴⁷ His central analysis is that artisanal work is essential to add value to the produce of agriculture and increase the wealth of the nation, but foreign imports have destroyed industry and commerce in the Iberian Peninsula. Mata’s solution to the steep decline of a productive population and the ruin of agriculture, manufacture and commerce in seventeenth-century Spain is a form of protectionism which would safeguard Spanish produce from foreign competition and prevent cheap merchandise from the kingdoms and republics of France, Genoa, Venice, Florence, Holland and England from being imported into Imperial Spain.⁴⁸ Ironically, the patron of Murillo’s *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Wallace Collection was a native of Genoa, one of those foreigners censured by Mata who, like

⁴⁴ Vives, *On Assistance to the Poor*, [*De Subventionem Pauperum*] trans. with an introduction & commentary by Alice Tobriner, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 42.

⁴⁵ Miguel de Giginta, *Tractado de remedio de los pobres*, [1579], edición y estudio introductorio, Félix Santolaria Sierra, (Barcelona: Ariel, 2000).

⁴⁶ Francisco Martínez de Mata, *Memoriales y discursos*, ed. by Gonzalo Anes, (Madrid: Editorial Moneda y Crédito, 1971), p. 97.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, VI, 7, p. 145.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, VI, 14, p. 146.

many other foreign merchants and bankers in Seville, made his fortune from trade with the Indies and returned to Genoa laden with profits.

This praise for the benefits of work finds an echo in the cult of St Joseph in the early modern Hispanic empire. In numerous seventeenth-century paintings, including the one under consideration in this case study, the Holy Family were portrayed as consummate examples of humble familial contentment, with a paternal St Joseph playing an increasingly prominent role as model father and hard-working provider. In a survey of Spanish Baroque painting, Pérez Sánchez, the Spanish art historian and former director of the Prado Museum, noted that no other saint had enjoyed the popularity that St Joseph did in this period.⁴⁹ Charlene Villaseñor Black, in her study of the cult of St Joseph, notes that after centuries of neglect when St Joseph's role was limited to contemplating the Christ Child, Joseph became for Hispanic Counter-Reformation theologians the most powerful saint of the Catholic Church, second only to Mary and Jesus.⁵⁰ She cites a sermon given by the famous Spanish preacher, Joseph de Barcia y Zambrana in Granada in 1677 that Joseph was the first saint of the New Testament and quotes the sentiments of the Josephine author, Fray Antonio Joseph de Pastrana, writing in 1696, that, after Christ and His Mother, Joseph was the greatest saint and the most resplendent in grace and glory: "*Que Despves de Christo Señor Nvestro, Y su Sanctissima Madre, el mayor Sancto, y que mas resplandesce en gracia, y gloria, es mi señor San Joseph.*"⁵¹ Moreover, manual labour was lauded by Josephine writers as natural. Humans were created by God to labour as specified in the Old Testament Book of Genesis: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground" (3:19) and idleness was held to be the source of all evil and corruption as, for example, the theologian Andrés de Soto wrote in 1593: "*la ociosidad, es origen y fuente de todos los males*" and that God favours those who eat from the work of their hands.⁵²

⁴⁹ Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Pintura barroca en España (1600 – 1750)*, (Madrid: Cátedra, 2010), p. 50

⁵⁰ Charlene Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of St Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire*, (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 21.

⁵¹ Joseph de Barcia y Zambrana, *Despertador Christiano Santoral, de varios sermones de santos...* (Madrid: Blàs de Villa-Nueva, 1725), p. 90, and Santos Fray Antonio Joseph de Pastrana, *Empeños del poder, y amor de Dios, en la admirable y prodigiosa vida del sanctissimo patriarcha Joseph, esposo de la madre de Dios*, (Madrid: Viuda de Francisco Nieto, 1696), p. 334, cited in Charlene Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of St Joseph*, p. 21, with other examples, p. 162.

⁵² Andrés de Soto, *Libro de la vida y excelencias de el glorioso S. Joseph, Esposo de la Virgen N. Señora*, 2d ed. 1593; reprint, Brussels: Iuan de Mommaerte, 1600, 46-7, cited in Villaseñor Black, C., *Creating the Cult of St Joseph*, pp. 120-1.

This new imagery in Murillo's paintings of the Holy Family, such as *Holy Family with the Little Bird*, Prado, Madrid (fig. 15), the *Holy Family in the Carpenter's Workshop*, c. 1660-1675, Szépművészeti Museum, Budapest (fig. 108), and the *Holy Family*, c. 1670 – 1675, Chatsworth, Derbyshire (fig. 109), promoted Joseph's role as a hardworking artisan and powerful symbol of the honour of manual labour. This view of work is endorsed in the mid-seventeenth century writings of Francisco Martínez de Mata who considered that through the craftsmanship of artisans, the king's subjects could obtain everything required for life without the need for begging or complaint and as a result could render tribute to God and taxes to the King: "*Trabajando en las Artes los vasallos, tienen todo lo que han menester para pasar la vida sin mendigar ni queja y rinden a las dos majestades, Divina y humana, los debidos tributos.*"⁵³

Several of Murillo's paintings of the Holy Family elevate the presence of St Joseph, a carpenter, over that of Mary and include his work utensils. In his *Holy Family with the Little Bird*, the scene of paternal affection and infant grace takes place in an environment of seclusion and of family industriousness with St Joseph's carpentry tools visible behind him and Mary busy working with a ball in her hand in front of a spindle and a basket of sewing to her right. Charlene Villaseñor Black argues that paintings such as this signal that the virtues of work, sanctity and nobility now pertain to the artisanal class as well as to the nobility.⁵⁴ In colonial Mexico, artists also produced versions of the Holy Family in the carpenter's workshop following depictions by Murillo, Zurbarán and Cano, as for example, Juan Tinoco's *Workshop in Nazareth*, 1702, San Martín Texmelucan, Puebla, Mexico (fig. 110).⁵⁵ In the New World, which was the source of Giovanni Bielato's wealth, the flowering of the cult of St Joseph was promoted by Spanish missionaries. Initially its spread was inspired in the sixteenth century by St. Teresa of Ávila's veneration of the saint as a glorious patriarch and protector, and subsequently it was aided by St Joseph's elevation to the role of the first Christian and perfect convert, which gave his image a special value in converting the indigenous populations of the New World, and ultimately was linked to the imposition of a Spanish ideology of the ideal family.⁵⁶

⁵³ Martínez de Mata, F., *Memoriales y discursos*, 1:2, pp. 97-8.

⁵⁴ Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of St Joseph*, p. 117.

⁵⁵ Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of St Joseph*, p. 118.

⁵⁶ See Joseph F. Chorprenning, ed., *Patron Saint of the New World: Spanish American Colonial Images of St. Joseph*, (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 1992), pp. 5-13.

In the version of *The Adoration of the Shepherds* under consideration in this chapter, Murillo encourages the viewer to consider Christ's sacrifice and its message of universal salvation. He employs the traditional vocabulary of devotional representations of the Virgin and Christ Child but at the same time provides his patron and the Capuchins with an image of the birth of Christ imbued with a conception of the positive role of the working poor in seventeenth-century Spain. In so doing, his painting corroborates the dominant ideas of the elites in Seville who would have approved of the value of work as a solution to poverty. It also conforms to the Counter-Reformation strictures concerning images which stipulated that they should provide salutary examples for the faithful so that they conduct their lives in imitation of the saints, accepting poverty with humility.

Chapter 6: Murillo's "Deserving Poor": The Nature of Charity

As discussed in the previous case study, Murillo skilfully provided the elites who commissioned his work with positive images of the working poor in paintings such as *The Adoration of the Shepherds* which is now in the Wallace Collection in London. This chapter features two notable religious paintings, executed by Murillo at the height of his career, of saints performing works of mercy, *Saint Thomas of Villanueva distributing Alms* and *Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, Attending the Sick*, which provide an equally positive example of the obedient acceptance of poverty with humility by society's lowest members as well as affording a sympathetic portrayal of their plight (figs 4 and 5).

Murillo's *Saint Thomas of Villanueva distributing Alms* was one of a series of works he produced for the Church of the Capuchins in Seville between 1665 and 1668 (fig. 111). *Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, Attending the Sick*, was part of a coherent programme of images painted for the Church of the Hermandad de la Caridad in Seville around 1670 (fig. 112). In the first of these two works, Saint Thomas of Villanueva, dressed in a black habit and white mitre, stands at the centre of the painting in front of a classical-looking building, handing money to the half-naked, crippled beggar at his feet and circled to his right by a young mother and joyous child who has just received alms, while on his left are an old woman and injured boy anxiously waiting their turn and an elderly man kissing the money he has been given. The latter painting shows Saint Elizabeth in her palace, soberly dressed apart from her crown, bathing the scabrous head of a half-clad boy, assisted by helpers in beautiful contemporary dress. To her left are another afflicted boy scratching his head, a cripple and an elderly woman, all waiting for care, while a man in rags examining the sores on his leg is seated to her right and in the background, there is another small scene of her serving food to the poor. In this chapter, I shall firstly examine the nature of charity in early modern Spain and then show how each of these two paintings function as archetypal examples of charitable deeds whose message is designed to motivate the wealthy viewer to perform the acts of charity praised in the funeral orations and in the writings of Miguel Mañara considered

in chapter 2. I shall also explore the ways in which the people seeking assistance have been conceived and narrated in these paintings and discuss whether the poor people surrounding the saints would be considered to be the truly “deserving” poor or the so-called “fraudulent” poor criticised in treatises promoting the reform of poor relief.

6.1 The nature of charity

In Christian theology, charity meaning love, is held to be the greatest of the three theological virtues. Paul, in Chapter 13 of the first letter to the Corinthians, extols the importance of charity: “And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these *is* charity”.¹ However, charity can also signify the act of giving money, food or other kinds of help to people in need. In early modern Spain, Covarrubias’ dictionary provided several definitions of *caridad* (charity), the primary theological one being the spiritual concept of love of God above all things for his own sake, and of our neighbour as ourselves for the love of God, though Covarrubias adds that his concern is with the etymology of words and not with the work of scholastic theologians.²

Secondly, *caridad* can also be understood, in more common parlance, as the gift of alms to the poor, moved by love and compassion for our neighbour, which unites us to God:

*“También se toma vulgarmente caridad por la limosna que se hace al pobre, a la cual nos mueve el amor y la compasión del prójimo, en orden a Dios, como está dicho.”*³

Covarrubias also writes that *caritativo* means pious, merciful, charitable, and thus in some places *caridad* can be used to signify the gift of bread, wine and cheese in burials and funeral rites.⁴

As was discussed in previous chapters, in early modern Spain, an act of charity was a way of acquiring grace, a ritual which communicated with God even as it attended to the physical suffering of the beneficiary. However, in response to the Protestant

¹ The St James Holy Bible, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1 Corinthians, (13: 13), italics in the original.

² Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua castellana o española* (1611), edited by Felipe C. R. Maldonado. (Madrid: Castalia, 1995), p. 273: “*charitas est rectissima animi affectio qua diligitur Deus propter se, et proximus, propter Deum*”, advising the reader to look at the teachings of Thomas Aquinas: “*Vide Sanct Thom. In 3 Sententiarum, dits. 27*”.

³ *Ibid*, “*También se toma vulgarmente caridad por la limosna que se hace al pobre, a la cual nos mueve el amor y la compasión del prójimo, en orden a Dios, como está dicho.*”

⁴ *Ibid*.

religious schism, the Council of Trent attempted to define the content of the Catholic faith against Protestant teaching.⁵ Among other things, the Council clarified doctrines on the mass as sacrifice, purgatory, penance and indulgences and rejected a variety of Protestant “heresies”, as well as adopting institutional reforms intended to revitalize the church and eradicate the moral and professional failings of the clergy.⁶ As was noted previously, the decree concerning justification, promulgated in 1547 in the Sixth Session of the Council, reconfirmed the doctrine of justification through good works in opposition to the Protestant belief that only faith in the virtue of Christ’s sacrifice could save one, declaring in Chapter VII of the Canons and Decrees: “For which reason it is most truly said that *faith without works is dead* and of no profit”.⁷ Chapter XVI on the merit of good works affirmed:

Hence, to those who work well *unto the end* and trust in God, eternal life is to be offered, both as a grace mercifully promised to the sons of God through Christ Jesus, and as a reward promised by God himself, to be faithfully given to their good works and merits”.⁸

Furthermore, Canon 24 of the “Canons Concerning Justification” states:

If anyone says that the justice received is not preserved and also not increased before God through good works, but those works are merely the fruits and signs of justification obtained, but not the cause of its increase, let him be anathema.⁹

In addition, the twenty fifth and final session of the Council convened on 4th December 1563 during the papacy of Pius IV, reaffirmed the veneration of saints and their relics, a practice vehemently rejected by Protestants since Jesus was held by them to be the sole mediator between God and man, as well as confirming the legitimacy and didactic efficacy of holy images.¹⁰ The Council stated that “all bishops and others who hold the office of teaching and have charge of the *cura animarum*” should instruct the faithful that:

⁵ Hubert Jedin, *Crisis and Closure of the Council of Trent*, (London: Sheed & Ward, 1967) p. 121; see also Nelson H. Minnich, *Councils of the Catholic Reformation: Pisa [1409] to Trent [1545-63]*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2008), chapter 12.

⁶ David M. Luebke, *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), p. 2.

⁷ *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. Henry J. Schroeder, (Rockford, Illinois: Tan Books and Publishers, 1978), p. 34, citing James 2:20 (in italics as in the original).

⁸ *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, pp. 40-41 (italics as in the original); for the complete text of the decrees and canons on “Justification” see pp. 29-46.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 45.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 215-217.

the saints who reign together with Christ offer up their prayers to God for men, that it is good and beneficial suppliantly to invoke them and to have recourse to their prayers, assistance and support in order to obtain favours from God through His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.¹¹

And moreover: “The images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints are to be placed and retained especially in the churches, and that due honor and veneration is to be given them”¹²

6.2 Saint Thomas of Villanueva

Murillo depicted around fifty-six different saints during his career, an indication of the popularity of images of the saints in seventeenth-century Seville and a reflection of the enduring influence of the dogmatic pronouncements and spiritual message of the Council of Trent. Saints such as John the Baptist, Joseph, Francis, Peter and Mary Magdalene were portrayed many times by Murillo and of his fifty-six saints, a dozen were either canonized or beatified during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the flood of canonizations following the Council of Trent.

The counter-reformation saint, Thomas of Villanueva (1486-1555) was canonized in 1658 by Pope Alexander VII and was portrayed six times by Murillo. These paintings include the image under consideration in this chapter, *Saint Thomas of Villanueva distributing Alms*, now in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Seville, which is a consummate representation of the dispensing of charity to the needy and poor by a powerful ecclesiastic famous for his generosity to the poor. Four of the other five images by Murillo also feature assistance to those in need of aid, including one remarkable one of the saint as a child giving away his clothes to a small group of street children in the backstreets of Seville, *Saint Thomas as a Child Dividing His Clothes among Beggar Boys*, Cincinnati Art Museum (fig. 36), which is based on a story recounted by his early biographer, the Augustinian Miguel Bartolomé Salón (1539 – 1621).¹³ This was one of three examples of the saint’s charity which Murillo was commissioned to paint for the Cavaleri chapel in the church of the convent of San Agustín in Seville in 1664, shortly

¹² *Ibid*, pp. 215-216.

¹³ Miguel Salón, O.S.A., *Libro de la vida y Milagros de Santo Tomás de Villanueva, Arzobispo de Valencia, de la orden de San Agustin, sacado de los procesos que se hicieron para su beatificación y canonización*, [Valencia, 1620] (Madrid, 1793), p.9.

after the saint's canonization. The other two are *Saint Thomas of Villanueva Healing a Lame Man*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (fig. 37) and *Saint Thomas of Villanueva Giving Alms to the Poor*, Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena (fig. 38), all themes inspired by the biography of the saint's life and miracles by Sal6n published in 1620. A fifth painting of charitable aid, *The Charity of Saint Thomas of Villanueva*, Wallace Collection (fig. 76), which features much the same cast of characters as Murillo's other two paintings of the saint distributing alms, was painted around 1670 for the Genovese merchant, Giovanni de Bielato, the owner of *The Adoration of the Shepherds* which featured in the previous chapter. Murillo's sixth painting of the saint is *Saint Thomas of Villanueva Receiving the Announcement of His Death*, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville (fig. 39), which was part of the altarpiece for the Cavaleri chapel.¹⁴

The saint was Archbishop of Valencia from 1544 until his death in 1555. He had, however, been resident in Seville from 1527-1529 when he was made Prior Provincial for the new Augustinian province of Andalusia. Born to a prominent Valencian family in 1486, he studied at the University of Alcal6 de Henares but joined the Order of Hermits of Saint Augustine at Villanueva in 1516, was ordained as a priest in 1520 and served as prior in Salamanca, Burgos and Valladolid. Although he was famed for his eloquent and effective sermons, for his learning and for his zeal in reforming the clergy in his Archdiocese, the saint was especially renowned for his generosity to the poor. When he was beatified in 1618, Pope Paul V designated him "Father of the Poor". In a sermon celebrating his canonization in 1658 in Valencia, the preacher Melchor Fuster said of Saint Thomas, that he gave everything away to the poor, down to the bed in which he lay dying.¹⁵ Father Joseph Sanchis, Provincial of the province of Valencia for the Order of Nuestra Se1ora de la Merced, in a sermon welcoming the good news of Saint Thomas's canonization, also praised the saint's prodigious almsgiving, repeating that he had given everything to the poor and was universally known as a great *Padre de Pobres*.¹⁶

¹⁴ See Valdivieso, *Murillo*, p. 132 for a reconstruction of this altarpiece.

¹⁵ Marco Antonio Orti, *Solennidad festiva con que en ... Valencia se celebr6 la ... nueva de canonizaci6n de Santo Tomas de Villanueva*. (Valencia, 1659). 4°, pp. 16-17: "da Toma al pobre, que le pide, hasta la cama en que esta muriendo...hasta con al abrigo de su cuerpo."

¹⁶ Joseph Sanchis, *Glorias paralelas del prodigio limosnero S. Tomas de Villanueva*, Arzobispo de Valencia. *Representadas en dos sermones, que predic6 a la buena nueva de su Canonizaci6n*, el M. R. P. M. Fr Ioseph Sanchis, provincial de la Provincia de Valencia del Orden de N. Se1ora de la Merced, Redencias de Cautivos... Consagranse al ilvstrissimo se1or don Christoval Crespi de Valadaura, y Borja, Clavero de la Orden de Montesa, del Consejo de su Magestad, y su Vicecanceler de la Corona e Aragon.

In a recent study of over 500 representations of the saint, of which 300 date from the seventeenth century, it was estimated that between 80 – 90 % of the Hispanic images dealt with the moment when Saint Thomas of Villanueva is involved in aiding the needy.¹⁷ The earliest known painting of the saint, dating from around 1568, is a half-length devotional portrait which is now lost, by the Valencian artist Juan de Juanes.¹⁸ It was considered to have the authority of *vera effigies* and the original showed him holding a purse and money destined to be used as alms (see figs. 113 and 114 for an image of the original and a twentieth century copy).¹⁹ Early seventeenth-century Italian paintings in Ancona, Corciano, Cortona and Pergola also show the beato Tomás giving alms. After the canonization of Saint Thomas of Villanueva, the Spanish painters Claudio Coello, Mateo Cerezo and Francisco Zurbarán, amongst others, all painted the saint as an almsgiver.²⁰

Saint Thomas of Villanueva, however, was equally concerned with the spiritual as well as the physical welfare of those in need. In keeping with the tenets of the Counter-Reformation, he was anxious to rescue the poor from their lack of knowledge of God. In one of his sermons, he preached about the importance of rescuing the soul as well as the body, stressing the poverty of those lacking in faith, wisdom, judgement and common sense and asking why one pities the wounds of the body and not those of the soul, commanding his congregation to open their eyes to the multitude of people who require help.²¹

(Valencia, 1659), Discurso VI, pp. 16 & 17: “*MVchos Santos limosneros ha tenido la Iglesias pero Tomas lo es con esta eminencia que ayuna, y dexa de comer no solo con gasto, sino con gusto, para socorrer al pobre. Cosa regalada, ni precio, no la consentía traer a su mesa. No solo fue limosnero, sino q se quitava de su menester, y susteto por dársele al pobre. LLamese pues Tomas Padre de pobres levante se en la Iglesia con este renombre. ... Tomas se, q resuelve todo su caudal en socorrer al pobre, alta enflaquecerse, ayunar; y macerarse, porque el pobre, sestè regalado, y bien assistido. Llamese universalmente gran Padre de Pobres.*”

¹⁷ Antonio Iturbe Saíz, O.S.A., and Roberto Tollo, coords., *Santo Tomás de Villanueva: Culto, historia y arte*. 2 vols., (Madrid & Tolentino: EDES & Biblioteca Egidiana, 2013), Vol. 1, p. 38.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, Vol. 2, pp. 9-10. Plate 1, vol. 1., p. 275, is a 20th century colour copy of the original with the Saint holding a book instead of a purse and money.

¹⁹ According to one of the Saint's earliest biographers, P. Miguel Salón, the canon Francisco Roca arranged for Juan de Juanes to take a portrait of the saint in the presence of his body. Cited in Iturbe Saíz and Tollo, *Santo Tomás de Villanueva*, Vol. 2, p. 10.

²⁰ For reproductions, descriptions and references of 535 images of the saint, from his tombstone, c. 1555, up to 1993, see volume 2 of Iturbe Saíz and Tollo, coords., *Santo Tomás de Villanueva*. The extensive festivities in Valencia celebrating his canonization are also discussed and illustrated in Volume 1, pp. 85-99. For this, see also, Marco Antonio Orti, *Solemnidad festiva con que en ... Valencia se celebró la ... nueva de canonización de Santo Tomas de Villanueva*. (Valencia, 1659).

²¹ *Conciones In Dom. VI post Pent.*, t. 1, p. 749, cited in Iturbe Saíz and Tollo, *Santo Tomás de Villanueva*, p.36: “*Este mundo, a modo de gran hospital, está lleno de personas necesitadas y de*

In Murillo's three paintings of the saint's charity, he is shown with a purse in his hand in the act of giving money to a kneeling beggar or, in the case of the work under consideration in this chapter, *Saint Thomas of Villanueva distributing Alms*, with the purse on a table beside him, alongside an open book which signified spiritual learning (fig. 115). The Augustinian historian, Arturo Llin Cháfer, notes that from the annual rents accruing to the Archbishopric of Valencia, the saint only retained around 3000 ducats annually to cover his expenses, dedicating the remaining 25000 ducats to care for the poor, giving food and money to all who came to the archbishopric and distributing from 300 to 500 portions daily.²² He also provided dowries for young women, established a foundling hospital for the young and funded a chemist, two doctors and a surgeon to provide care for the sick free of charge.²³ The Archbishop declared that the church's assets were the possessions of the poor: "*Los bienes de la Iglesia son los bienes de los pobres*".²⁴ Moreover, the saint's early biographer, Miguel Salón, writing in 1620, says the Archbishop rejected the demands of those who considered that the rogues and undesirables who lurked around the episcopal palace should be treated severely.²⁵

pobres." No penséis, hermanos, que son pobres solamente aquellos a los que así llamáis, y a quienes les dais comida y vestido. ¿Acaso no es más pobre quien no tiene fe, sabiduría, juicio, sínderesis o sentido común? ¿Te compadeces de las heridas en el cuerpo y no de las del alma? Abre los ojos y donde quiera que mires, te encontrarás con multitud de personas que necesitan tu ayuda."

For a discussion of the Saint's theology of charity, i.e. love, see Argimiro Turrado, O.S. A., "La Teología de la caridad en Santo Tomás de Villanueva, maestro de espiritualidad agustiniana", in *La Ciudad de Dios, Revista Agustiniana*, Vol. CLXXI, (1958), pp. 564-598. For the Saint's theology, see also *Obras completas / Santo Tomás de Villanueva*, 10 vols., (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2010-), Latin with facing Spanish translation.

²² Arturo Llin Cháfer, "Semblanza biográfica de Santo Tomás de Villanueva", in Iturbe Saíz and Tollo, *Santo Tomás de Villanueva*, vol. 1, p. 23; see also David Gutiérrez, O.S.A., "Santo Tomás de Villanueva visto por sus contemporáneos: las cuentas del arzobispo limosnero", in *La Ciudad de Dios: Revista Agustiniana*, (vol. CLXXI, no. 4, 1958), pp.558-562.

²³ Llin Cháfer, "Semblanza biográfica de Santo Tomás de Villanueva", pp. 23-4, citing as sources the early biographies of the saint by Francisco de Quevedo, *Epítome a la historia de la vida exemplar ... del bienaventurado F. Tomás de Villanueva...*, (Madrid, 1620), p. 56, and Miguel Salón, *Libro de la vida y milagros de Santo Tomás de Villanueva, arzobispo de Valencia, de la orden de San Agustín, sacado de los procesos que se hicieron para su beatificación y canonización*, (Valencia, 1620), p. 295.

²⁴ Cited in Antonio Cañizares Llovera, *Santo Tomás de Villanueva: Testigo de la predicación española del siglo XVI*, (Madrid: Instituto Superior de pastoral, 1973), p. 61.

²⁵ Miguel Salón, *Libro de la vida y milagros de Santo Tomás de Villanueva, arzobispo de Valencia, de la orden de San Agustín, sacado de los procesos que se hicieron para su beatificación y canonización*, (Valencia, 1620), 1.2, c. XVIII, cited in Iturbe Saíz and Tollo, *Santo Tomás de Villanueva*, p. 36: "Si hay holgazanes y gente en el lugar, miren en ello el Gobernador y Regidores, que eso no me toca a mí, sino socorrer las necesidades que llegan a la puerta de mi casa; y si con esto poco que les damos aquí, ahorraran las demás limosnas, o toman las demás raciones y nos engañan, ¿qué daño nos hacen el ello? Líbrenos Dios por su misericordia de engañar nosotros a los pobres; que ser engañados de ellos, dándoles con buena fe y corazón sencillo y en nombre de aquél que por enriquecernos a todos quiso ser pobre y acabar su vida en tanta pobreza en una Cruz, eso corona es del limosnero."

Nonetheless, as noted in Chapter 2, there were fierce debates about the nature of charitable giving to the poor in sixteenth century Spain. Religious and secular Hispanic writers, such as Vives, Juan de Robles, Miguel Giginta and Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, focused attention on distinguishing between the poor who deserved charitable assistance and ‘fraudulent’ beggars who could, in theory, work but choose not to, thus challenging the abstract theological perception of poverty as a virtue and questioning the universal nature of assistance to the poor, as espoused by Saint Thomas of Villanueva and later, by Archbishop don Ambrosio Ignacio Spínola y Guzmán, both of whom were celebrated as “*padre de los pobres*”. While recognising the social imperative to aid the truly poor, the 1579 treatise of Miguel Giginta reveals an ideological shift towards a social perception of the poor as social deviants, declaring: “Rid the many false poor of their free time, as they ruin themselves and the nation by feeding from others’ labour... This will eliminate the many dissolute actions that our present disorderly state allows the false beggars”.²⁶ Moreover, the 1598 treatise of Pérez de Herrera proposed a system to convert the truly poor into productive members of society and to eliminate false beggars which is presented as not merely a spiritual and moral obligation but in terms of an economic and political necessity for the state.²⁷

6.3 Saint Thomas of Villanueva distributing Alms, c. 1665-1668

In the painting, *Saint Thomas of Villanueva distributing Alms*, which Murillo produced for the Church of the Capuchins in Seville, the black robed saint stands in the centre of the composition set against a classically architectonic background representing the Archbishop’s palace. He is placed alongside a pair of Doric columns hung with a large swathe of deep red drapery and a classical building can be seen through the arched doorway to his left. He has abandoned his reading of theological texts which are illuminated on a table at his right, to attend to the beggars gathered at the entrance to his palace, though they represent only a tiny fraction of the hundreds who received aid from the saint on a daily basis, echoing the generous charitable giving of the Seville Archbishop, don Ambrosio Ignacio Spínola y Guzman, which was lauded in the funeral

²⁶ Miguel de Giginta, *Tractado de remedio de los pobres*, 1579 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid), Cap.x 42r, 43r, cited in Cruz, *Discourses of poverty*, p. 58.

²⁷ Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres*, edición, introducción y notas de Michel Cavillac, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1975).

oration discussed in chapter 2 and cited in relation to the famine of 1678 in the *Memorias de Sevilla (1600-1678)* in chapter 3. Murillo depicts the saint holding his crozier in his left hand while stretching out his right hand to give money to a lame beggar. The saint's face and mitre are illuminated by a strong light which draws our attention to the saint's look of compassion for the unfortunates around him (fig. 116). This enables Murillo to traverse the Counter Reformation desire to portray religious figures as idealized archetypes, while, at the same time, showing them as real people who could serve as attainable models of sanctity to be emulated by the public, as decreed in the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent in December 1563:

.... through the saints the miracles of God and salutary examples are set before the eyes of the faithful, so that they may give God thanks for those things, may fashion their own life and conduct in imitation of the saints and be moved to adore and love God and cultivate piety.²⁸

Surprisingly, this painting of an Augustinian saint hung in a church dedicated to the rule of the Franciscans. As noted in the previous chapter, the Order of the Capuchin Friars Minor was a reform order, introduced into Spain in the late 1570's, which espoused the extreme poverty preached by Saint Francis, and whose members were active evangelists devoted to preaching to the ordinary people of the cities they inhabited much like the Jesuit, Padre Pedro de Leon.²⁹ The Seville chronicler, Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, reported in his entry for 1627 that the Capuchins had arrived in Seville at the beginning of that year and had obtained the necessary permits from the prelate and the city to found a convent on a site outside the Cordoba gate, where formerly there was the monastery of the monks of San Leandro and, in the past, the Church of Saints Justa and Rufina.³⁰

The interior of the Capuchin church had three vaulted aisles; two lateral aisles with four chapels and corresponding altarpieces flanking the long central nave.³¹ Murillo's painting of Saint Thomas of Villanueva was placed furthest away from the altar, on the

²⁸ *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, p. 216.

²⁹ See Alberto González Caballero, *Los Capuchinos en la Península Ibérica: 400 años de historia (1578-1978)*, (Seville: Conferencia Ibérica de Capuchinos, 1985) for the history of the Capuchins in Spain

³⁰ "A principio del año de 1627 entraron en Sevilla los Religiosos Capuchino, siendo du Comisario General Fray Agustín de Granada, que para fundar en ella Convento, á que envió siete sujetos con Fray Felix de Granada, primer Guardian, ganó las licencias precisas del Prelado y de la Ciudad, y eligieron sitio fuera de la puerta de Córdoba, donde antiguamente estuvo el Monasterio de Monjas de San Leandro, y la antigua Iglesia de Santa Justa y Rufina, advocacion que eligieron para la suya, comenzando á ayudarlos con larga mano Juan Pérez de Irazabal, noble y poderoso Vizcaíno", in Ortiz de Zúñiga, D., *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares*, vol. 4, pp. 318-9. For the history of the Church, see Angulo Íñiguez, *Murillo*, vol. 1, pp. 351-353.

³¹ Duffy-Zeballos, *Murillo's Devotional Paintings*, p. 35.

Epistle side of the nave, opposite his painting of the *Vision of Saint Francis Embracing Christ on the Cross*, which portrays Saint Francis rejecting the world and surrendering himself to the love of Christ (fig. 117). In effect, Saint Thomas of Villanueva is being presented as a parallel example of the decision by Saint Francis to renounce his material riches and dedicate himself to serving the poor. Such an example would have chimed with the Capuchin's contempt for worldliness, with their devotion to poverty, their insistence on the importance of good works above intellectual pursuits and with the Order's charitable mission. As Duffy-Zeballos notes, the pairing of his paintings of Saint Thomas of Villanueva and Saint Francis in the Capuchin's church articulates Saint Bonaventure's description of the observance of perfect poverty, which rejects not only material possession, but learning as well, though in the case of Saint Thomas of Villanueva he did not reject erudition.³² Angulo noted that, according to the *Libro historial* of Fray Ángel de León, the presence of this Augustinian saint in the Capuchin church was also related to links which the founders of the convent reputedly had with Valencia.³³

Murillo's twenty-one paintings for the church included images of prominent Friars Minor, such as Saint Francis and Saint Anthony of Padua, as exemplars for the community (see fig. 118 for a reconstruction of the altarpieces in the chancel).³⁴ The series also featured scenes from the life of Christ and a double portrait of Saints Justa and Rufina, patron saints of Seville, since the site had been ceded to the Capuchins by a confraternity devoted to the cult of the two saints (fig. 34).³⁵ The contract for the paintings stated that Murillo was commissioned "to adorn and enrich this Church and its altars with paintings and pictures by the hand of said painter" and "although from its beginning he is paid for his work and ability, through his devotion to the Capuchins, to

³² "Whoever desires to attain the height of poverty should renounce in some way not only worldly wisdom but also learning, that having renounced such a possession he might enter into the mighty works of the Lord (Ps 70: 15-16) and *offer himself naked to the arms of the Crucified*. No one can be said to have perfectly renounced the world if he still keeps the purse of his own opinion in the hidden recesses of his heart." St Bonaventure, 1978, 71, cited in Duffy-Zeballos, L., *Murillo's Devotional Paintings*, pp. 102-3.

³³ Angulo Íñiguez, *Murillo*, vol. 1, p. 369, citing Fray Angel de León, *Libro primero historial, en el que se notan los acontecimientos mas notables de este Convento de Menores Capuchinos de N.S.P.S. Francisco de la Ciudad de Sevilla*, 1805, M.S. fol. 19.

³⁴ Paintings of St Francis, St Anthony of Padua and St Felix Cantalicio, for example, all appear twice: in the main altarpiece and in the chapels dedicated to their cults. For a reconstruction of the original layout of Murillo's paintings, see Valdivieso, *Murillo*, p.134.

³⁵ Angulo Íñiguez, *Murillo*, vol. 1, p. 351.

accredit and perpetuate His name, has agreed to a fair price.”³⁶ The work was financed by lay donors. Captain Juan de Trujillo, for example, donated 6,000 *reales* for the two paintings of the Immaculate Conception and Diego de Portugal gave 3,400 *reales* for the painting of St Joseph and the Christ Child, an example of the generous donations provided by the Seville citizenry for the decoration of churches in the second half of the seventeenth century.³⁷ As a result, the decorative programme for the church projected both the devotions of the secular patrons as well as that of the Capuchins.

In his *Lives of the eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors*, Antonio Palomino said of Murillo’s series for the Capuchin Church in general and of the painting of Saint Thomas of Villanueva:

No smaller is the testimony of his superior skill given by the silent panegyrics of the sixteen canvases in the Capuchin church of the said city. All of them are very large and truly very great canvases, but especially one of them – which he called “his canvas” – which depicts Saint Thomas of Villanueva giving alms to the poor, where there is one receiving them, with his back to us, who seems real.³⁸

I consider that in Murillo’s paintings of Saint Thomas of Villanueva practicing charity, it is clear that the poor people surrounding the saint are all examples of those who would be considered as the truly or “deserving” poor rather than the so-called “false” poor criticized by, amongst others, Vives, Juan de Robles, Miguel Giginta and Pérez de Herrera in the treatises discussed in chapter 2. These are not the people of whom Pérez de Herrera writes about as “false vagabonds” (“*los fingidos, falsos, engañosos, y vagabundos*”) who usurp the alms of others, transgress the good laws and customs of these realms and who provoke the wrath of God onto the whole town because of their sins and excesses, causing contagious infections and pernicious illnesses.³⁹ Rather, they represent those worthy of aid whom Pérez de Herrera identified as the one-armed, crippled, hunchbacked, blind, elderly and children under the age of six, in other words, those incapable of being of service to the republic and unable to support themselves.⁴⁰

³⁶ Duffy-Zeballos, *Murillo’s Devotional Paintings*, p. 37.

³⁷ Angulo Íñiguez, *Murillo*, vol. 1, p. 354.

³⁸ Palomino, *Lives*, p. 282.

³⁹ Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres*, pp. 13-14: “*Usurpadores de la limosna de los otros, transgresores de las buenas leyes y costumbres de los reinos...provocadores con sus pecados y excesos de la ira de Dios contra todo el pueblo, y causa de los contagios y enfermedades perniciosas.*”

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 55-6: “*...el que fuere manco, tullida, contrechó, ciego, viejo, hombres o mujeres, niños o niñas de siete años abajo, de suerte que casi no fuese persona de servicio ni útil para la república, y otros entrados en edad, que no saben oficios ne tienen otra manera de vivir.*”

They were the lame, those who were handicapped with one arm, the paralytic and the old who were granted licenses to beg for alms in the registers drawn up in 1597, 1641 and 1675 as noted in chapter 3. They are also representative of the view of the poor found in the Seville sermons discussed in chapter 2, in which the road to salvation involves acceptance of their state with patience for the poor (as evidenced by the figures in this painting), and the giving of alms in the case of the wealthy: “*A los pobres salva Dios por la paciencia, a los ricos por la limosna.*”⁴¹

The painted recipients of the saint’s charity are ranged around him in a beautifully composed semi-circle. This version is unlike Murillo’s earliest known, sympathetic depiction of saintly giving, *St James of Alcalá Feeding the Poor* (fig. 10), where the saint, positioned well to the left of centre, is surrounded by a sizeable number of elderly men, young children and mothers. In his later canvas, Murillo has pared down those in the scene to single representatives of the types of poor people who would be considered worthy of aid who also represent the ages of man – childhood, youth, maturity and old age. On the saint’s left is an impoverished elderly man who is kissing the money he has just received from the saint, while an old woman and an injured young boy, with ulcers on his head and his arm in a sling, are anxiously lining up to receive alms from the saint. At the bottom of the frame to the saint’s right is a tired-looking mother with her young son who is filled with joy after having just received assistance from the saint. The central figure kneeling at the saint’s feet with an outstretched hand is the lame beggar partially clad in rags, “who seems real” according to Palomino (fig. 119). The light falls on his bare torso and grubby bandages, which emphasizes the woeful state of this recipient of the saint’s alms, reminiscent of the suffering naked Christ depicted by Murillo in his paintings of Christ after the flagellation. The crutch lying in his left hand further attests to his disability and makes a sad counterpoint to the imposing staff of office held in Saint Thomas’s left hand. The beggar’s bare skin and white bandages also contrast with the blackness of the saint’s habit and his white mitre. The centre of the composition is the point where the right hands of the beggar and the saint reach out towards each other, the saint’s hand being shown in the act of placing a coin in the open

⁴¹ Juan de Gámiz, S.I., *Oración fúnebre en las honras que se celebraron en la Iglesia Parroquial de Omnium Sanctorum el día diez y ocho de febrero a ... Ana Luisa de Herrera Melgarejo Ortiz Maldonado Medina y Saavedra. Díxola ... Juan de Gámiz, de la Compañía de Jesus ...; sacala a luz, y la dedica al ... señor Don Francisco Antonio Fernandez de Velasco y Tovar ...*, Mateo Gomez Velazquez, por Tomás López de Haro, Impressor, y Mercader de Libros, (1693), p.9.

palm of the figure prostrated in front of him, thus emphasizing the importance of charitable giving for the church's congregation. Moreover, the painting's placement in the chapel next to the church entrance was designed to remind clergy, patrons and other worshippers of their duty to the city's poor, many of whom would have gathered outside the Capuchin Church in front of the Córdoba Gate in the hope of receiving alms.

Murillo painted a very similar crippled figure in both the later version of the scene which is now in the Wallace Collection in London, and in the earlier, much smaller version which was part of the altarpiece for the Cavaleri Chapel and now in the Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena (see figs. 76 and 38). However, although the figure's bare shoulder and back are also illuminated in these paintings, the compositions are different and neither of them are placed centre scene. Moreover, in the earlier small version, Murillo makes it quite clear that the subject of the canvas is charity by including a personification of the virtue hovering above the saint's head, in the standard sixteenth-century representation of Charity in the form of a woman suckling two infants with a third on her shoulder (fig. 120). This format had supplanted the older allegorical symbols of a beggar putting a shirt over his head beside the figure of Charity who sometimes clasps a bundle of clothes and that of the figure of Charity holding a flame or flaming heart representing charity as the love of God.⁴² In Murillo's painting for the Capuchins, the symbol of *Caritas* is replaced by the grateful mother, sitting on the ground in the left foreground of the painting, looking tenderly at her young child (fig. 121).

The half-naked, crippled beggar was a commonplace in earlier paintings of Saint Thomas of Villanueva distributing alms, both Spanish and Italian. Amongst the earliest is *The Charity of Saint Thomas of Villanueva*, painted around 1618 by Giovanni Antonio Galli (*lo Spadarino*), now in the Pinacoteca Civica in Ancona in Italy (fig. 122). Several Italian paintings which date from the year of the saint's canonization in 1658, also feature scantily-clad beggars, such as the canvases by Fabrizio Chiari, Giovanni Francesco Romanelli (fig. 123) and Luca Giordano (fig. 124). So too does the Spanish canvas by Mateo Cerezo dated 1660 (fig. 107). These, however, tend to represent beggars in classicising poses, such as the heroic semi-nudes by Jacopo Tintoretto (fig. 125), analysed by Tom Nichols in his book of 2007 on the art of

⁴² James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, (London: John Murray, 1974), 1996 edition), p. 64.

poverty.⁴³ The greater naturalism of Murillo's poverty-stricken figures is, by contrast, more nuanced than those images. They are contemporary figures painted with great compassion whom the viewer would have seen on a daily basis in the streets of Seville and, as a result, their impact on the beholder is both more immediate and more likely to elicit empathy and action, thereby fulfilling Tridentine precepts. It is possible that Murillo made use of living models in his work. There is no proof, but Duncan Kinead, in his article on the picture collection of Nicolas Omazur, speculates that a painting in the 1690 inventory of "María Rodríguez la Vieja" by Murillo's follower, Pedro Núñez de Villavicencio, is based on an identifiable person registered in the municipal census of the legitimate poor in 1675.⁴⁴ It is also true that Murillo had first-hand experience of begging and beggars as part of his duties as a member of the Hermandad de la Caridad.⁴⁵

There are a handful of other versions of the half-naked beggar in Murillo's religious works, as in the beautiful composition of *Christ healing the Paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda* in the National Gallery in London (fig. 53) and in one of his late pictures, *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (c. 1675-82), now in a private collection (fig. 126). In both cases the beggar is typically placed well off-centre in the left foreground, but in the latter case, the beggar who is seated in shadow at the foot of the stairs ascended by the Virgin, leans forward defiantly towards the spectator demanding money.⁴⁶ There is also an active version of the half-naked beggar in one of Murillo's earliest paintings, *Brother Juniper and the Poor Man* (fig. 11), painted between 1645-6 for the Franciscans, which shows the impoverished man being encouraged by Brother Juniper to take his habit from him to replace his ragged clothing. Though the lame man in the painting *Saint Thomas of Villanueva Healing a Lame Man* is fully clothed, albeit with torn jacket and breeches, and his crippled state is underlined by the presence of not one, but two crutches, he is shown fully cured with his arms flung wide in a small scene

⁴³ See Tom Nichols, *The Art of Poverty: irony and ideal in sixteenth-century beggar imagery*, (Manchester & New York, Manchester University Press, 2007), on classicizing beggar bodies, pp. 152-170.

⁴⁴ Duncan Kinead, "The Picture Collection of Don Nicolas Omazur", *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 128 (1986), p. 137. The painting is no. 140, p. 141.

⁴⁵ See Kinead, *Pintores y Doradores*, pp. 371-375. Murillo is recorded begging for alms on behalf of the Confraternity, usually at the gates of the Cathedral, from 1667 onwards and distributing bread from 1673 on.

⁴⁶ See Nichols, *The Art of Poverty*, p. 142-3 for the suggestion that the stairs are a metaphor for spiritual access and ascension.

to the left of the main scene (fig. 127). In both of these cases, the impoverished beggar is portrayed as a significant actor in the narrative.

In Murillo's version of the charity of Saint Thomas of Villanueva which he painted for the Capuchins, the central figure of the half-naked beggar threatens the visual dominance of the saint giving alms. He is inserted between the saint and the spectator, acting to channel the spiritual ascent of the viewer towards the saint and his act of charity and ultimately to God. However, I would argue that he represents not only the sacralised poor whom charity has made beautiful before man and God but also the beggar who is being reintegrated into society and the church through the gift of alms.⁴⁷ In so doing, the danger of insurrection he represented is reduced, a significant threat in Andalusia following a series of uprisings by starving population in the late 1640s and early 1650s. The figures Murillo is presenting to the viewer in this painting are not the tricksters lambasted by the writer and doctor, Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, in his *Amparo de Pobres* published in 1598, whom he accused of blinding their young, newly born children in order to gain more alms as discussed in chapter 2 on the discourses of poverty.⁴⁸ Nor are they the phony beggars whom Pérez de Herrera claims put everyone's health at risk by corrupting the air with the stench and decay emanating through their breath and the sweat of their filthy bodies.⁴⁹ Neither are they the unproductive false vagrants whom he accuses of usurping the alms of others, transgressing the good laws and customs of the realms and who provoke the wrath of God onto the whole town as a result of their sins and excesses.⁵⁰

This distinction between the needy and the rogues constantly appears in both the debates and legislation dealing with poverty in Spain throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As noted in chapter 3, there were repeated efforts to control begging by issuing municipal licenses to those deemed sufficiently needy, with very severe penalties for those found begging without a license, as for example, the occasion described by Francisco de Ariño, when 2000 men and women were gathered together by the municipal authorities to issue beggars' licenses in 1597,⁵¹ and the registry

⁴⁷ See Arsenio Moreno Mendoza, *Mentalidad y pintura en la Sevilla del Siglo de Oro*, p. 131.

⁴⁸ Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres*, p.28.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 42-3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 13-14.

⁵¹ Francisco de Ariño, *Sucesos de Sevilla de 1592 a 1604, recogidos de Francisco de Ariño, vecino de la ciudad en el barrio de Triana*. Colección Clásicos Sevillanos. (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1993), pp. 45-7.

compiled in 1675 by the civic authority of 231 people licensed to beg in Seville which revealed that the most common afflictions were blindness and being crippled.⁵²

I consider that the cast of characters who are sympathetically portrayed in Murillo's painting of *Saint Thomas of Villanueva distributing Alms* represent the poor who would be considered legitimate recipients of welfare provision within the predominant religious ideology in the era of the Counter-Reformation, as opposed to the able-bodied "undeserving poor" described and pilloried in the many discourses on poverty of the era, who were viewed as outsiders and as a threat to public order. Though the painting is clearly designed to arouse compassion in the viewer and, possibly, a spur to action, the destitute are also being shown as legitimate members of Sevillian society, on which they are dependent for assistance through the practice of charity by the rich and powerful. What the painting does not do, is challenge the suffering of the poor in seventeenth century Seville and their place in that social order, a question which is also not addressed in the discourses discussed in chapter 2.

6.4 Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, Attending the Sick, c.1672

The second image under consideration in this chapter is Murillo's painting, *Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, Attending the Sick* (fig. 5), a key work painted at the height of his career for an important charitable confraternity of which he was also a member, though it had taken five years for his membership to be accepted.

Membership of the Hermandad de la Caridad was drawn largely from Seville's upper-class and aristocracy, many of whom were Murillo's patrons, and was restricted through *limpieza de sangre*, to those who were "an old Christian of clean and honourable ancestry, without Moorish, Negro or Jewish blood" and who "must not have a vile or low occupation".⁵³ Murillo probably encountered difficulty in joining because the frontier between artisan and artist continued to be blurred in seventeenth-century Spain and painting might have been considered to be one of the vile or low occupations

(Sevilla: Imprenta de D.R. Tarascó y Lassa, 1873), pp. 45-7.

⁵² Archivo Municipal de Seville, Siglo XVII, Sección 4, *Escribanías de Cabildo*, Tomo 29, No. 9 cited in Perry, 'Fantastic Fandango', p. 259-60 and note 10, p.290; see also Carmona García, *El Extenso Mundo de la Pobreza*, pp. 53-56 which deals with the same material.

⁵³ Mañara Vicentelo de Leca, *Regla de la muy humilde Hermandad de la Hospitalidad de la Santa Caridad de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, sita en su Casa y Hospital del Sr. San Jorge de la ciudad de Seville*, (Seville, 1868, 1st ed. Seville, 1675), p. 81.

excluded by the rules of the Hermandad de la Hospitalidad de la Santa Caridad.

However, the recommendation for his admittance specifically mentions that his art will be of service for the decoration of the church.⁵⁴ The painting was commissioned by the head of the Hermandad de la Caridad, Don Miguel Mañara, and I shall discuss the painting in relation to Mañara's views on the importance of good works which were outlined in chapter 2, as well as touching on the role of confraternities in the provision of charity for the poor and sick in seventeenth-century Spain. It will also link to the previous discussion of Murillo's representations of the "deserving" poor.

The seventeenth-century history of the confraternity, its hospital and church (fig. 128), which still exist today, has been well documented by historians through records of council meetings held in its archive, the writings and biographies of Don Miguel Mañara, the Sevillian nobleman turned religious philanthropist who headed the charity from 1663 to his death in 1679.⁵⁵ Under his leadership, the Brotherhood's original mission of burying the dead was expanded to include the foundation of a hospice to shelter and feed the homeless, an ambulance service to take the sick and abandoned poor to a suitable hospital, the construction of an infirmary to cater for the incurable and the aged refused admittance elsewhere and the Christian education of those living in the hospice and hospital.⁵⁶

As previously noted in chapter 3, in 1678, a time of drought and famine, an anonymous manuscript chronicling events in seventeenth-century Seville, collated and edited by Francisco Morales Padrón, credits the Hermandad de la Caridad with having supplied more than 20,000 people with bread and spent more than 100,000 ducats on alms thanks to a large bequest to be used for good works which the Charity received from Francisco Gómez de Castro.⁵⁷ The famous chronicler of Seville, Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, recorded in his *Anales Eclesiásticos y Seculares*, a long report on the development and fame of

⁵⁴ Neil MacLaren, *National Gallery Catalogues: the Spanish School*, rev. by Allan Braham, (London: National Gallery of London, 1970), pp. 69-70.

⁵⁵ The earliest biography dates from the year of his death, see Juan de Cárdenas, S.J., *Breve relación de la muerte, vida y virtudes del venerable caballero D. Miguel Manara Vicentelo de Leca, caballero del orden de Calatrava, hermano mayor de la Santa Caridad*, [1679] (Sevilla: T. Lopez de Haro, 1732); Jonathan Brown's seminal study of the decoration of the Church of the Hermandad de la Caridad is the reference point for all later discussions of this topic. For the building and financing of the church, see also Amanda Wunder's recent book, *Baroque Seville: Sacred Art in a Century of Crisis*, (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), chapter 4.

⁵⁶ Brown, "Hieroglyphs of Death and Salvation: The Decoration of the Church of the Hermandad de la Caridad, Seville" in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 52, (Sep. 1970), p 267.

⁵⁷ Morales Padrón, ed., *Memorias de Sevilla (1600-1678)*, p. 141-2.

the hospital and Confraternity of the Santa Caridad, which also praised the confraternity's good deeds such as taking the sick to hospitals, giving out alms at the doors of the Santa Iglesia on feast days, their distribution of bread, money and clothes and their receipt of frequent and often large donations which they then allocate to the poor.⁵⁸ This report also acclaims the fine example given by Don Miguel Mañara to the members and notes that the Confraternity's membership comprised more than three hundred of the most noble, most esteemed, wealthiest and preeminent men in all of the Republic, whose numbers included Ortiz de Zúñiga.⁵⁹ Moreover, Ortiz de Zúñiga singles out for lavish praise the admirable work of the painters, Bartolomé Murillo and Juan de Valdés, the sculptor Pedro Roldan, and the architect and carver, Bernardo Simon de Pineda, in the making of the church, noting that its magnificence and excellence can only be appreciated by sight and that it is sought out by all those in search of the places most worthy of visiting in the great city of Seville.⁶⁰ In another entry inserted in the year 1661, Ortiz de Zúñiga also recorded the formation of the new hospital, which was built between 1673 and 1682, making use of the long vaulted bays of the old thirteenth-century Royal Shipyards, (the Reales Atarazanas), providing matting and pillows for the majority of patients, and better beds for the most needy.⁶¹ This hospital was designed to tend the sick poor whom no other hospital wanted and who were suffering from incurable diseases, while at the same time being mindful of their souls as well as their bodies.⁶²

As discussed in chapters 2 and 3, charitable assistance for the poor in seventeenth-century Seville was primarily a religious affair, a matter for churches and confraternities with the help of donations provided by wealthy individuals, often bequeathed as legacies on their death, although in times of great catastrophe such as the terrible floods of 1626 and the plague of 1649, it is evident from the chronicles that the secular authorities would also get involved in providing assistance to the victims. The

⁵⁸ Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales Eclesiásticos y Seculares*, vol. V, pp. 143-46.

⁵⁹ Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales Eclesiásticos y Seculares*, vol. V, p. 144, "*el numero de Hermanos no tiene límite... y llega á pasar de trescientos de los mas nobles, mas caudalosos, y mas estimados y primeros en todo de la República.*"

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-5, "*que solo la vista puede ser digna investigación de sus grandezas y excelencias, y se hace frequentar por esto de quantos buscan lo mas digno de ser visto de esta gran Ciudad...*"

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167, "*tomáron uno de los grandes almacenes cercanos dentro del ámbito de las Atarazanas, y poniéndolo en cómoda forma con tarimas, esteras y almohadas para el común, y camas mejores para los mas necesitados.*"

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 167, "*no ménos doctrinándolos atiende al beneficio de las almas de quantos mendigan el sustento de los cuerpos.*"

Hermanidad de la Caridad was especially effective in obtaining large bequests from its illustrious members, as, for example, the large bequest already noted which the Brotherhood received from Francisco Gómez de Castro. Also, as noted in chapter 3 of this thesis, an anonymous donation of almost 23,000 *ducados*, to be distributed amongst the needy of Seville, prompted Miguel Mañara to carry out a parish-by-parish survey in 1667 of those deserving of charity. In addition, the hospital benefitted from a donation of 16,000 *ducados* gifted by the Sevillian merchant, Mateo de Soto, on his deathbed, according to the art historian Amanda Wunder.⁶³ What is difficult to gauge is the effectiveness of the Hermanidad de la Caridad and other brotherhoods in confronting the problems endured by large numbers of people who were unable to sustain themselves or their families in this period. Certainly, Carmon García's report of severe deficiencies in the care provided for destitute children in the Casa de la Doctrina and the Casa de las Niñas Huérfanas which I noted in the conclusion of chapter 3, suggest that, in reality, charitable assistance in Seville during this period may well have been deficient and ineffective.

As described by the art historian Jonathan Brown in his classic analysis of the church's iconographic programme, Murillo's painting of *Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, Attending the Sick* was part of a didactic decorative scheme for the brotherhood's newly rebuilt church which promoted Christian charity as the way of salvation.⁶⁴ The figure of Charity is represented as a sculpted figure within the hospital courtyard (fig. 129) and again in a prominent position on the main altarpiece in the Church interior (figs. 130 and 131). Six Biblical scenes painted by Murillo, and the *Entombment of Christ*, sculpted by Pedro Roldán for the Church's imposing altarpiece together represent the Seven Acts of Mercy, promoting the good works to be carried out by the brotherhood as the route to their salvation⁶⁵. Murillo painted his six Acts of Mercy as epic, multi-figure scenes from the Old and New Testaments which hung on either side of the church nave and exemplified the good deeds of giving drink to the thirsty, food to the hungry, sheltering the homeless, consoling the imprisoned, visiting the sick and clothing the

⁶³ Amanda Wunder, *Baroque Seville: Sacred Art in a Century of Crisis*, (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), p. 115.

⁶⁴ See Jonathan Brown, "Hieroglyphs of Death and Salvation", pp 265-277; see also Amanda Wunder, *Baroque Seville: Sacred Art in a Century of Crisis*, chapter 4, pp. 97-124 on the church's construction and funding.

⁶⁵ The seven acts of mercy are laid out in Matthew 25: 34-39.

naked.⁶⁶ Aside from these paintings of the cardinal charities, Murillo also painted *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Attending the Sick* (fig. 5) and *Saint John of God* (fig. 136) for side altars, which feature saints renowned for their charity in treating the poor. Saint Elizabeth of Hungary (1207-1231), a lay member of the Franciscan Order who was canonized in 1235, established a hospital at Marburg Castle, while Saint John of God (1495-1550) was canonized in 1690 and founded a hospital in Granada. In contrast to these pictures encouraging the exercises of charity through which, according to Mañara, “we achieve a happy death”, two fearsome paintings by Valdés Leal in the entrance to the church, *In Ictu Oculi* and *Finis Glorae Mundi* (figs. 57 and 58), underline the transience and futility of worldly achievements, a preoccupation of Mañara’s, as outlined previously in the discussion of his spiritual text, *Discurso de la verdad*, and of the rules of the Brotherhood in chapter 2.⁶⁷

Murillo’s *Saint Elizabeth* is not a biblical scene but rather a painting of a thirteenth-century Franciscan saint who was admired for her life of self-sacrifice and her charity, portrayed as a “Mother of the Poor” tending the sick within the towering walls of her palace. A small scene in the background of the picture shows her and her assistants feeding the unfortunates who are seated at a table in the spacious courtyard of the palace (fig. 137). This painting is unique in Murillo’s output, and I have not found any similar depiction in Spanish art of the period of a saint tending the sick in a hospital setting. More usually the Act of Mercy of healing the sick shows Christ curing a cripple, such as the painting by the seventeenth-century Spanish artist, Pedro Orrente (1580-1645), *Christ Healing the Paralytic*, Museo del Patriarca, Valencia (fig. 138), or Murillo’s work, *Christ Healing the Paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda*, National Gallery, London (fig. 53), which he painted for the Church of the Santa Caridad. Why was a second version of this Act of Mercy commissioned? Doubtless Mañara wanted to emphasise that the Brothers should undertake works of mercy themselves rather than by proxy, an obvious temptation for the wealthy. In his revised rules for the confraternity, the *Regla*, Mañara underlined this aspect of membership, proclaiming: “Let us serve God with our

⁶⁶ These are respectively: *Moses Drawing Water from the Rock* (Fig. 132) and *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* (Fig. 133) which are both in situ; *Abraham Visited by the Three Angels*, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (Fig. 134), *The Liberation of St Peter*, The Hermitage, St Petersburg (Fig. 135), *Christ Healing the Paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda*, National Gallery, London (Fig. 53), and *The Return of the Prodigal Son* National Gallery, Washington (Fig. 54).

⁶⁷ Mañara, *Regla de la muy humilde Hermandad de la Hospitalidad de la Santa Caridad*, p. 117.

persons. The same difference exists between us and our goods as between works done by ourselves and those which proceed only from our wealth".⁶⁸

Through the distribution of light and shadow across the painting, Murillo skilfully draws the viewer's eye towards the saint's serene face and the crown which indicates her royal birth, thus making her an important exemplar for the aristocratic members of the confraternity and proof for them that the personal, practical exercise of charity on behalf of the poor can lead to sainthood and salvation. Deft lighting and the carefully contrived composition of the figures within the frame also draws the viewer's eye downwards to Saint Elizabeth's hands, shown in the centre of the work tenderly washing the scabs on the head of a beggar boy. In his 'Life of Murillo', Palomino described Murillo's vivid portrayal of one of the poor boys treated by Saint Elizabeth as follows:

there is a poor little scurvy boy who is having his scurf removed, and he shrugs his shoulders and makes such a grimace of pain that only his screech seems to be missing, for everything else is there.⁶⁹

Around her are grouped four other figures waiting to be cared for whose tattered clothes are in marked contrast to the finery of her young helpers. As in the previous painting, these are contemporary figures. Amongst them are a youth scratching his head and body in obvious agony, an elderly woman and, in the foreground to the saint's right, a man with a bandaged head, dressed in rags, examining sores on his leg (figs. 139 and 140). The *Regla* which obliged every member to arrange the transportation to hospital of any sick man found lying neglected in the city, reminded those members "that Christ is under those rags" and "however wounded or disgusting he may be they will not turn their faces, but with fortitude will offer that mortification to God".⁷⁰

Art historians agree that elements of the composition of Murillo's *Saint Elizabeth* can be found in two engravings by the printmaker Raphael Sadeler (1560-1628), one of Saint Elizabeth washing a sick man's feet (fig. 141) and another of Saint Erentrudis, a Benedictine abbess, washing the head of a poor man (fig. 142).⁷¹ According to Diego

⁶⁸ Mañara, *Regla*, pp. 10-11.

⁶⁹ Palomino, *Lives*, p. 283.

⁷⁰ Mañara, *Regla*, pp. 40 & 60.

⁷¹ The engravings by Sadeler, after drawings by Johann Matthias Kager (1775-1634), were published in Munich in the *Bavaria Santa* (1614-1624). See Angulo Íñiguez, *Murillo*, vol. 1, pp. 402-4; see also José Guerrero Lovillo, "Los grabados que inspiraron la "Santa Isabel" de Murillo", *Archivo español de arte*, 25: 100 (1952), pp. 323-330.

Angulo Íñiguez, author of the most respected account of Murillo's life and works, these engravings were known to Murillo, an example of the use of prints as sources as discussed in chapter 4.⁷² Murillo has altered the placing of the figures gathered around the saint, significantly improving on the more muddled composition found in the engravings. Moreover, by substituting a child in place of the man having his head washed, by highlighting the terrible ulcers on the boy's head contrasted with the pale hands of the saint and by adding another suffering boy placed to the right of the canvas, Murillo has heightened the compassion likely to be aroused in the heart of any member of the Brotherhood viewing this canvas.

Certainly, as has been frequently remarked on by art historians, Mañara intended the entire pictorial decoration of the confraternity's church to act as an inspiration for charitable deeds, drawing on assumptions about the poor which were present in Mañara's own writings and also those found in the sermons I examined in chapter 2. The hospital of the Hermandad de la Caridad without doubt symbolized a pious desire to provide physical and spiritual care for God's poor who were suffering from severe illnesses, but I would argue that the overarching preoccupation in the discourses appears to be with acts of mercy as a means for those with some wealth to save their souls. However, for the wealthy, the reality of working in the hospital with difficult or diseased patients, who may not have been as grateful and humble as those represented in Murillo's paintings, could well have been extremely challenging. Though the realistic, repellent appearance of the sick poor in *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Attending the Sick*, which Murillo represented with great attention to detail, is clearly designed to arouse the viewer's compassion for the suffering of the sick, it is also possible that this compassion might have functioned for the wealthy viewer as a form of pictorial mortification, a substitute for winning merit through serving the poor in real life. However, such a comparatively realistic portrayal of poverty and disease in the two paintings by Murillo discussed in this chapter is in marked contrast to the paintings of ragged but seemingly well-fed and happy street-urchins found in Murillo's famous genre pictures which will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁷² Angulo Íñiguez, *Murillo*, vol. 1, p. 402.

Chapter 7: Murillo's Impoverished Children and the Issue of the Undeserving Poor ¹

“Fué este juego de Dados aborrecible en todos los tiempos”, Rodrigo Caro (1573-1647)

Throughout his career, Murillo produced a small number of highly original genre paintings of low class adults and children. As Peter Cherry has noted, these genre paintings are largely undated and undocumented apart from some listings in collectors' inventories produced after they were painted. As a result, they have been the subject of much speculation and disagreement amongst art historians about their significance, about which works should be considered authentic secular works by the artist and when they were produced.² They represent a significant but tiny fraction of his output, 26 out of 425 works according to the most recent catalogue raisonné of Murillo's work by Enrique Valdivieso, and as in previous chapters, I have followed Valdivieso's assessment of which paintings should be considered to be Murillo's authentic works and Valdivieso's estimated dates for their production.³ The clear majority of these works feature youngsters in exterior settings on the edge of the city, either singly or in small groups of two or three. In this chapter, I shall focus on one of Murillo's most iconic genre paintings of this type, *Three Boys Playing Dice*, 1670-1680, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (fig. 6), and examine what traditions, assumptions and discourses are being drawn on in this image, with particular reference to the writings of the arbitristas, Cristóbal Pérez Herrera and Martínez de Mata.⁴

The painting features two street urchins seated on slabs of stone, completely absorbed in a game of dice for money, while a younger child chewing some bread stands to their left, indifferent to the game, gazing out at the viewer. The dog at his side waits expectantly for some crumbs. All three are dressed in ragged clothes and the waif to the left, clutching a hat to his side, is barefoot, while the boy in the foreground to the right

¹ For this chapter, I am greatly indebted to Xanthe Brooke and Peter Cherry's catalogue, *Murillo: Scenes of Childhood*, London: Merrell, 2001, which contains invaluable research into the history of Murillo's paintings of children and their possible sources of inspiration.

² Brooke and Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, p. 14.

³ See Valdivieso, *Murillo*, cat. nos. 381-406, pp.532-557.

⁴ For details of this painting, see Valdivieso, *Murillo*, cat. no. 403, pp. 552-3.

has shoes whose soles have largely been worn away, exposing his filthy toes. He's wearing a bandana around his head with some ivy tucked in it. In the left foreground is a small wicker basket of fruit and an earthenware jug with a broken lip. This exterior scene is set against a barely legible masonry structure with some hanging ivy to the right and a cloudy sky. In contrast to the sombre tones of Murillo's first genre painting, *Urchin Hunting Fleas* (fig. 13), *Three Boys Playing Dice*, painted much later in the 1670s, is lit by an attractive warm, diffuse light with soft tonal gradations and an atmospheric luminosity characteristic of his later religious paintings. The warm colour hues, in which grey, white, and ochre predominate, are enlivened by splashes of intense colour such as glowing flesh tones, the bright yellow citrons in their basket and the red cloth draped around the boy seated to the right of the picture frame.

My discussion of the painting's relationship to contemporary views of poverty would be enhanced by some knowledge of the originator of the project, as was the case in the analysis of Murillo's works in chapters 6 and 7. However, the original owner of *Three Boys Playing Dice* is unknown. This relatively late work was first documented sixteen years after Murillo's death.⁵ It was purchased in Antwerp in 1698 by the Elector Maximilian II Emanuel (1679-1726) during his period of governorship of the Netherlands from the Flemish merchant, Gisbert van Ceulen, part of a group of over a hundred paintings which included twelve by Rubens and thirteen by Van Dyck.⁶ It is now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, along with four other genre paintings by Murillo.⁷ Valdivieso dates this painting between 1670 and 1680 though other art historians have proposed different, overlapping date ranges. Angulo, for example, thought it was painted around 1665-1675, but indicated that A. L. Mayer, another noted scholar writing in 1923, suggested a wider date range between 1660 and 1680. Brooke and Cherry narrowed the dating to c. 1675-1680, while Erich Steingräber, in his explanatory notes on works in the Alte Pinakothek Munich specifies a date of c. 1670-1675.⁸

⁵ Valdivieso, *Murillo*, p. 552, cat. no. 403.

⁶ Erich Steingräber, *Alte Pinakothek Munich: explanatory notes on the works exhibited*, trans. Kevin Perryman, (Munich: Lipp, c. 1986), inv. no. 597, p. 364; Brooke and Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, p. 58; Valdivieso, *Murillo*, p. 552.

⁷ The four other paintings are *Two Boys Eating Melon and Grapes*, *Old Woman Delousing a Boy*, *Two Boys Eating a Tart*, and *The Young Fruitsellers*.

⁸ Valdivieso, E., *Murillo*, p. 552; Angulo, *Murillo*, 1981, vol. II, p. 303; Brooke and Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, p. 132; Erich Steingräber, *Alte Pinakothek Munich: explanatory notes*, p. 364.

What is also unanswerable from available documentation is whether this painting, or any of Murillo's other genre paintings, were commissioned by a client or made for the market, and if so, which market. This makes it difficult to assess with any certainty what impelled Murillo to paint what was a rare form of imagery for Spanish artists in seventeenth century Seville and one, as noted in a previous chapter, treated with much disdain by the theorist Vincente Carducho in his *Diálogos de la pintura* (1633). In addition, as noted above, the task is complicated by the lack of agreement amongst art historians as to the dating of those paintings, apart from the first two and his last. By consensus, *Urchin Hunting Fleas* is considered to be the first of Murillo's genre paintings, dating sometime between 1645 to 1650, and *Two Boys Eating Melon and Grapes* (fig. 14) is generally thought to be his second painting of street children, now usually dated to around 1650, while the last is *The Young Fruitsellers*, dated between 1675 and 1680 (fig. 45). Judging by stylistic grounds, Murillo appears to have produced these genre paintings sporadically throughout his career. There are several genre paintings commonly thought to have been produced during the 1650s, including *Urchin with a Dog and Basket* (fig. 25), *Peasant Girl with Basket of Fruit and Flowers* (fig. 24), *Two Women at a Window* (fig. 26), and *Family Group* (fig. 27). In the 1660s, Murillo is believed to have produced fewer genre paintings, probably, as Peter Cherry suggests, because he was too busy with commissions for cycles of large religious pictures.⁹ Finally, a group of highly accomplished genre pictures are assumed to have been painted sometime between 1670 and 1680, including *Three Boys Playing Dice*, at a time when religious institutions were using their funds to provide aid to those adversely affected by famine as a result of successive crop failures, rather than to commission works of art.¹⁰

⁹ Brooke and Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, p. 14.

¹⁰ As noted in the introduction, these paintings include *Spring as a Flower Girl*, c. 1670 (fig. 40), *Two Boys and a Negro Boy*, c. 1670 (fig. 42), and *Invitation to a Game of Argolla*, c. 1670-1680 (fig. 43), all at the Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, *Smiling Boy Leaning on a Sill*, c. 1675, National Gallery, London (fig. 143), *Young Girl Lifting her Shawl*, c. 1670-1675, private collection, London (fig. 144), *Two Boys Playing Dice*, c. 1670-1680, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna (fig. 145), and three paintings now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich: *Three Boys Playing Dice*, the subject of Chapter 7, *Two Boys Eating a Tart*, c. 1665-1675 (fig. 44), and *The Young Fruitsellers*, c. 1670-1680 (fig. 45).

7.1 Netherlandish links

What is clear is that the Netherlands, and especially Antwerp, played an important role in the transfer of genre paintings by Murillo from Seville to northern Europe. As noted previously, *Three Boys Playing Dice* was purchased in Antwerp in 1698 only sixteen years after Murillo's death. In Antwerp in March 1673, while Murillo was still alive, a painting described as *Two Beggars* by "Moriglio" of Seville, was recorded as one of the paintings which Maria Anna Lenaerts intended to give to her brother as a security.¹¹ The Antwerp inventory of Peter Wouters from 23 August 1673 included a painting by Murillo of two beggars: "Twee bedelaers, van Moriglio van Sivilien".¹² Two of the five genre paintings owned by the Electors of Munich were acquired in Antwerp: *Three Boys Playing Dice*, and the much earlier painting of two street children eating fruit, *Two Boys Eating Melon and Grapes*.¹³ This latter painting was recorded in 1691 in Antwerp in the probate inventory of the Postmaster-General, Jean-Baptiste Anthoine, along with two copies, one life-sized, the other smaller, and acquired seven years later by Maximillian II.¹⁴ However, in the catalogue for the exhibition of Murillo's "Scenes of Childhood", Xanthe Brooke notes that it is possible that the painting was in Antwerp from as early as the mid-1650s since a copy of it was either bought or commissioned between 1657 and 1659 by the English lawyer and MP, Sir Ralph Bankes, who had links to the Netherlands but no known direct relationship with the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁵ This painting was also known to the Dutch writer, Gerard de Lairese (1640-1711), since it is referred to in his two volume book on painting, *Groote Schilderboek* (Amsterdam 1707). De Lairese was vehemently opposed to genre painting in the Low Countries, complaining that "we scarce see a beautiful Hall or fine Apartment of any Cost, that is not set out with Pictures of Beggars, obscenities, a *Geneva*-Stall, Tobacco-

¹¹ Eric Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, 14 vols., (Brussels: AWLSK, 1984-2009), vol. 9, p. 439, cited in Tijana Žakula, "The indecorous appeal of beggar boys: Murillo, de Lairese and Gainsborough", *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* vol. 35, No. 3/4 (2011), p.167.

¹² Jean Denucé, *Inventories of the Art-Collections in Antwerp in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, (Antwerp: "De Sikkels", 1932), p. 263.

¹³ Brooke and Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, pp. 57-8.

¹⁴ Denucé, *Inventories of the Art-Collections in Antwerp in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, nos. 95, 256 & 265, pp. 358 & 363; see also Žakula, "The indecorous appeal of beggar boys: Murillo, de Lairese and Gainsborough", pp.167-8; Angulo, *Murillo*, vol. II, pp. 301-2, Brooke and Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, p. 55, and Valdivieso, *Murillo*, p. 534, though Valdivieso gives the date as 1687, the year of Anthoine's death.

¹⁵ Brooke and Cherry, *Murillo*, pp.55 & 90.

smoakers, Fidlers, nasty children easing Nature and other Things more filthy.”¹⁶ In a section describing images which could deeply disturb a sitter in an artist’s studio, he writes that a young girl might feel a profound unease after seeing “a Picture of two Beggar-boys [falling] greedily on ripe Fruit, the one eagerly biting a Piece of fresh Melon, and the other a Bunch of Grapes, with the Juice falling down his chin on his naked Breast”, a clear reference to *Two Boys Eating Melon and Grapes*.¹⁷

Also from Antwerp was Murillo’s greatest secular patron, the Flemish merchant, Nicolás Omazur, who arrived in Seville in 1669. Murillo painted Omazur’s portrait in 1672 (fig. 50), enclosing it in a feigned, decorative oval frame, a northern convention possibly known to Murillo through engravings, and a format he also used in his own self-portrait (c. 1670-1675) now in the National Gallery London (fig. 1).¹⁸ In addition, Murillo’s painting of *The Marriage Feast at Cana*, c. 1672, The Barbour Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham (fig. 70), was probably commissioned by Omazur to celebrate his own marriage to Doña Isabel Malcampo and features an idealized portrait of them as the married couple in the feast. The painting is replete with large pitchers displayed emphatically in the foreground, which is reminiscent of the prominent placement of utensils in Dutch and Flemish genre painting. As was discussed in a previous chapter, Omazur’s large collection of paintings included thirty-one original works by Murillo and an additional nine copies after his paintings.¹⁹ According to his 1690 inventory, at least seven of these were paintings of street vendors or other low-life characters, two of which are probably the paintings of youngsters in Russian museums today, *Peasant Girl with Basket of Fruit and Flowers*, 1655-1660 (fig. 24), and *Urchin with a Dog and Basket*, 1655-1660 (fig. 25), as well as a set of the Four Seasons.²⁰ However, these could not have been commissioned by Omazur since their dates according to stylistic grounds mean that they were painted before he arrived in Seville. With the decline of the silk trade in Seville in the later seventeenth century, it is likely, as Xanthe Brooke

¹⁶ Charles Harrison, Paul Wood and Jason Gaiger, eds., *Art in Theory. 1648 – 1815. An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), p.301. Italics as in the original.

¹⁷ Gerard de Lairese, *Groot Schilderboek*, 2 vols., (Doornspijk 1969), vol. 2, p. 12, cited in Tijana Žakula, “The indecorous appeal of beggar boys”, p. 165.

¹⁸ The portrait, *Nicolás Omazur*, is now in the Prado, Madrid, and originally formed a pair with a portrait of his second wife, Isabel Malcampo, only known today through a copy in the Stirling Maxwell collection, Glasgow. See Royal Academy of Arts, *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo: 1617-1682*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), p. 189; also, Valdivieso, *Murillo*, p. 569, cat. nos. 420 & 421.

¹⁹ Duffy-Zeballos, *Murillo’s Devotional Paintings*, pp. 166-8; Brooke and Cherry, *Murillo*, p. 52.

²⁰ Duncan Kinkead, “The Picture Collection of Don Nicolas Omazur”, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 128 (1986), pp 138-144; see also Brooke and Cherry, *Murillo*, p. 53.

has suggested, that Omazur used his contacts in Antwerp to export paintings to Flanders from Seville, since the composition of his collection changed significantly between the 1690 and 1698 inventories of his holdings.²¹ I would suggest, therefore, that in contrast to Murillo's many religious commissions, it is quite possible that Murillo produced his genre scenes primarily for export, given these strong links with the Netherlands.

Indeed, in the year following Murillo's death, the German painter and writer, Joachim von Sandrart (1606-1688), noted of Murillo in the Latin version of his famous treatise, *Teutsche Akademie*, that "while all of Spain was abundantly provided with his elegant altarpieces, other kinds of image were collected in Flanders, the great number of which bear witness to the esteem in which they were held".²² Murillo was the sole Spanish painter who was included amongst the artists' biographies in this Latin edition, *Academia nobilissimae artis pictoriae* (Nuremberg, 1683).²³ Though the entry is short and full of errors, it was very important in helping to spread his fame throughout Europe.²⁴ Palomino, in his *El Museo Pictórico y Escala Óptica* (Madrid 1724) also wrote of the interest foreigners had taken in Murillo's work and complained that they had used the disastrous times, [i.e. the War of the Spanish Succession, 1701-14], to remove most of the paintings he had made for private houses. Enrique Harris thinks this probably refers to Murillo's genre scenes with urchins, though Palomino never discussed those paintings in his biography of Murillo.²⁵ Angulo presumes that the success of Murillo's paintings of secular themes must have been great and swift since Queen Isabel Farnese (1692-1766) was unable to buy any paintings of this sort by Murillo during or directly after the court's stay in Seville between 1729 and 1733, despite acquiring about thirty works attributed to Murillo.²⁶ Indeed, Angulo notes that

²¹ Brooke. and Cherry, *Murillo*, pp. 52-4. See also Kinkad "The Picture Collection of Don Nicolas Omazur", *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 128 (1986), pp 132-144.

²² Joachim von Sandrart, *Academia nobilissimae artis pictoriae*, (Nuremberg, 1683), p. 397, cited in Tijana Žakula, "The indecorous appeal of beggar boys", p. 168, note 19; see also Enrique Harris, "Velázquez and Murillo in Nineteenth-Century Britain. An Approach through Prints", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 50, (1987), p. 154.

²³ Enrique Harris points out, however, that the notice, which includes an engraving of Murillo's self-portrait now in the National Gallery in London, contains many inaccuracies, Harris, "Velázquez and Murillo in Nineteenth-Century Britain", p. 154, note 44.

²⁴ See María de los Santos García Felguera, *La Fortuna de Murillo (1682-1900)*, (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1989), p. 35, for the main points of the biography. Errors include a supposed trip to the Americas which was planned in 1633 but never took place, a fictitious visit to Italy, and the erroneous fact that Murillo had worked for the king.

²⁵ Harris, "Velázquez and Murillo in Nineteenth-Century Britain", p. 155.

²⁶ Angulo, *Murillo*, vol. 1, pp.443-4; see also García Felguera, *La Fortuna de Murillo (1682-1900)*, pp. 133-5.

the only ones featured in her collection at the palace of La Granja in 1746, when the royal inventories were made on the death of Philip V, were *La Gallega with a Coin*, which, in fact, is not by Murillo, and *Old Woman with a Distaff* and *Young Boy at a Window*, both of which seem to have been only copies.²⁷ By 1779, Carlos III and his ministers were so alarmed at the loss of Spain's artistic patrimony, especially paintings by Murillo, that a royal edict was issued that year prohibiting the export of paintings by deceased artists with particular reference to Murillo.²⁸

I would argue that the well-established trade in Netherlandish paintings of ordinary people in scenes of everyday life, which were destined for domestic interiors of the bourgeoisie in northern Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, must also have been an important factor in encouraging the export of Murillo's genre paintings. Attractive works such as *Three Boys Playing Dice*, featuring urchins involved in commonplace pursuits, would have found a ready market in northern Europe. His paintings were clearly highly valued. In the collection of Jean-Baptiste Anthoine, for example, Murillo's *Two Boys Eating Melon and Grapes* (fig. 14) was valued at 1000 florins, second only in value to a set of paintings by Rubens and equal in value to a Van Dyck painting of St Jerome.²⁹ The successful transfer of Murillo's genre paintings beyond the Iberian Peninsula would have been aided by their compositional novelty. His genre works generally feature two or three figures, usually young boys and girls in ragged clothes, in an exterior setting with a low horizon, who dominate the canvas, as in the case of *Three Boys Playing Dice*. The conspicuously large format of his paintings, equal in size to those in his religious devotional works, is in marked contrast to the much smaller dimensions of the majority of the seventeenth-century genre works featuring scenes of everyday life produced in the Netherlands. *Urchin Hunting Fleas* (fig. 13), Murillo's earliest surviving genre painting, for example, measures 137 x 115 cm, while a slightly later Dutch painting with a similar theme, *Boy Picking Fleas from*

²⁷ Angulo, *Murillo*, vol. 1, pp.444, note 6. Angulo notes that it is not clear if these were acquired in Seville; see also Brooke and Cherry, *Murillo*, p. 65. Xanthe Brooke points out that there is a good quality painting of *Old Woman with a Distaff* at Stourhead, Wiltshire, which is probably the original version, and that *Young Boy at a Window* could be a copy after the painting in the National Gallery, London, which is thought to have been in the collection of the Comtesse de Verrue by 1737. Due to the Napoleonic invasion, the edict was relatively short lived.

²⁸ Brooke and Cherry, *Murillo*, p.65; see also Harris, "Velázquez and Murillo in Nineteenth-Century Britain", p. 155, and note 48, p. 155, which advises that the edict is printed in Edward Davies, *The Life of B.E. Murillo and the Style and Taste of the School of Seville*, (London 1819), pp. 127-30.

²⁹ Denucé, *Inventories of the Art-Collections in Antwerp in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, pp. 358-9: "No. 95. Een groot stuck twee miloeneters van Morillo. F. 1000."

his Dog, c. 1655, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (fig. 146), by Gerard Ter Borch the Younger (1617-1681), measures a mere 34.4 x 27.1 cm. Similarly, Murillo's illusionistic painting, *Two Women at a Window*, c. 1655-60, National Gallery of Art, Washington (fig. 26), a subtle depiction of two fetching prostitutes at a window and a common picture type in the Netherlands, measures 125.1 x 104.5 cm, while the dimension of a painting by the Dutch Golden Age artist, Jacob Ochtervelt (1635-1710) of *A Lady in a Window Holding a Bunch of Grapes*, c. 1668, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (fig. 147), is only 25 x 22 cm.

7.2 Sources

As Jonathan Brown points out, there are subtle traces of Murillo's knowledge of northern painting to be found in his work, as in the case of the portraits discussed earlier in this chapter.³⁰ Murillo was adept at taking motifs from diverse sources and then interpreting and synthesizing them to produce a painting which was unmistakably his own, as, for example, his use of engravings by the printmaker Raphael Sadeler in his painting of *Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, Attending the Sick* for the Hospital de la Caridad. The artist would have known works imported from the Netherlands through the collections of his merchant patrons. As noted in chapter 4, twenty percent of Nicolás Omazur's collection were Flemish works, including a small painting of "some lads" by Adriaen Brouwer, and another of "some sailors warming themselves in a tavern" by David Teniers.³¹ Jonathan Brown, while conceding that the precise compositional type of Murillo's genre paintings of young boys and girls is unique to Murillo, suggests that its constituent parts can be found in paintings by the *Bamboccianti*, the name given to the group of artists from the Netherlands who were working in Rome in the first half of the seventeenth-century and whose Dutch leader was Pieter van Laer "Il Bamboccio" (1599-c. 1642).³² Brown considers Pieter van Laer's small painting *Landscape with Mora Players*, c. 1636-37, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (fig. 148), has similar motifs to Murillo's *Three Boys Playing Dice*, "boys in ragged clothes playing simple games in the open air, with irregular architectural forms, and the poetic landscape with

³⁰ Brown, *Painting in Spain*, p. 227.

³¹ Kinkead, "The Picture Collection of Don Nicolas Omazur", pp. 138-42.

³² Brown, *Painting in Spain*, p. 228.

delicately tinted clouds”, though Murillo subordinates the landscape to the figures.³³ However, I consider that the figures in Pieter van Laer’s painting look more like a group of penniless adult tramps playing a game which is about to deteriorate into a fight, with the city walls dominating the scene. They are essentially figures of fun, with little of the psychological nuance which is so prevalent in Murillo’s genre paintings of children. Another genre painter whose work is sometimes equated with that of Murillo is the Danish painter Bernhardt Keil (1624-1687), also known as Monsú Bernardo, who worked in Italy from 1651, and who specialised in rustic themes, often including children portrayed in a natural manner who fill the canvas in a similar fashion to Murillo’s subjects.³⁴ Peter Cherry thinks that we are probably looking at an analogous artist rather than a direct source of inspiration for Murillo.³⁵ However, as Angulo noted, there are resemblances in themes between the works of the two artists but their styles are very different.³⁶ Bernhardt Keil’s painting, *Children with Grapes*, c. 1650, Museu Nacional de Arte de Catalunya, Barcelona (fig. 149), for example, features a sullen-looking pair of children awkwardly seated on the ground holding up a basket of grapes with a dog at their side. By contrast, Murillo’s later painting of *The Young Fruitsellers* (fig. 45) is a more harmonious, imaginative composition of a boy and a girl sitting on the ground poring over the money they have earned through selling fruit, which is distinguished by an appearance of spontaneity and liveliness lacking in Keil’s painting.

I would concur with Peter Cherry’s assertion, and the opinion of other commentators on the *pícaro* in Spanish Baroque painting, that there is “no direct link between Spanish picaresque literature and Murillo’s paintings” and that there are no incidents from the classic fictive autobiographies of *pícaros* such as *Lazarillo de Tormes*, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, *El buscón*, and *La pícara Justina* which are illustrated in Murillo’s genre paintings.³⁷ It is significant, as Cherry points out, that in seventeenth-century sources, the characters in Murillo’s genre paintings are not called *pícaros* but instead, the term *chulito* or *mozo* is used, meaning “boy” or “lad”, or else *muchacho*, the more neutral word for a boy.³⁸ In his listing of lost genre paintings by Murillo, Valdivieso cites a

³³ *Ibid*, p. 228.

³⁴ See Minna Heimbürger, ‘La génesis de las escenas de género con niños de Murillo’, *Goya*, 307-8, (Jul-Oct 2005), pp 229-42 on the connection between Murillo and Bernhardt Keil.

³⁵ Brooke and Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, p. 21.

³⁶ Angulo, *Murillo*, vol. 1, pp. 442-3.

³⁷ Brooke and Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, p. 22 ; see also, for example, Jesús Cantera Montenegro, “El pícaro en la pintura barroca española”, *Anales de Historia del Arte*, 1, (1989), pp. 209-222.

³⁸ Brooke and Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, p. 22 and note 33, p.152.

painting by Murillo in the 1676 inventory of Isabel de Torres y Mancierra called “*unos muchachos*” and another by the artist in the aforementioned 1690 inventory of Nicolás de Omazur where there is “*una moza con una granada en la mano*”.³⁹ The Spanish historian, Domínguez Ortiz, categorized the *pícaros* as “the lowest members of the lowest social strata. They are not, however slaves, gypsies or *Moriscos*, but genuine Castilians, Old Christians whom vice or poverty drives to a wandering existence and a life of falsehood and cheating.”⁴⁰ Although Murillo’s street children are shown alone, without a master, and are not involved in the thieving, trickery and debauchery which are the mainstay of the picaresque novel, his seemingly carefree urchins doubtless would have suggested to contemporary viewers the world of the literary *pícaro*. Moreover, the library of Murillo’s son Gaspar did include a copy of Alemán’s *Guzmán de Alfarache*, so it is probable that Murillo was at least familiar with the picaresque novel and its introduction of a new subject in Spanish literature.⁴¹ The groups of street urchins in Murillo’s genre paintings all appear to be equipped with baskets of fruit or jugs for carrying water or oil, echoing *Lazarillo de Tormes*’ work as a water-seller in Seville. The work of young lads commonly seen wandering round Seville with panniers is also described by an Asturian boy in *Novelas ejemplares: Rinconete y Cortadillo* by Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616), as work which was “undemanding and tax-free and some days he went home with five or six reales in his pocket, which enabled him to eat, drink, and be merry”, telling Rinconete and Cortadillo that the necessary tools for the job were “a small, clean or brand-new bag and three palm-leaf panniers, two large and one small, in which to distribute the meat, fish, and fruit while the bread would go into the bag.”⁴²

7.3 Games of chance

Valdivieso and previous commentators on *Three Boys Playing Dice* and on Murillo’s other painting of the subject, *Two Boys Playing Dice*, now in Vienna, have noted that

³⁹ Enrique Valdivieso, *Murillo. Sombras de la tierra. Luces del cielo*. (Madrid: Sílex, 1990), p. 237.

⁴⁰ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *The Golden Age of Spain 1516-1659*, trans. by James Casey, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), p. 250.

⁴¹ Santiago Montoto, “La Biblioteca de Murillo”, in *Bibliografía Hispánica*, vol. II, (1946), pp. 477, cited in Navarrete and Pérez Sánchez, *El Joven Murillo*, p. 457.

⁴² Miguel de Cervantes, *Exemplary Stories*, [1613], trans. with an intro. and notes by Lesley Lipson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.76.

playing dice in public was prohibited in this period by the municipal ordinances of Seville because of the large number of disputes, fights and stabbings engendered by the game.⁴³ In 1626, Rodrigo Caro (1573-1647), a historian and native of Andalusia, wrote *Días geniales o lúdicos*, a ground-breaking study of the characteristics and history of games in Seville in the first quarter of the seventeenth century based on learned sources and direct observation of children's games, which remained unpublished until 1884.⁴⁴ The book is written in the form of a dialogue in the humanist tradition with learned quotes from a wide range of ancient texts. In the Third Dialogue, in which he discussed games of chance, including dice, he wrote that dice was considered a loathsome game throughout the ages, an offence to God:

Fué este juego de Dados aborrecible en todos los tiempos por lo mucho que en él se pierde, y por las muchas ofensas á Dios y al prójimo que siempre trajo y acarrea á los que lo juegan

He added that the laws of Spain forbade not only the game of dice but also watching and fabricating it: “*por las leyes de España, nó sólo es prohibido el jugar los Dados, pero el mirarlos jugar y el hacerlos*”, giving rise to the Castellan saying that the best way with dice was not to play: “*Lo mejor de los dados es no jugarlos.*”⁴⁵ However, he also quotes from Ecclesiasticus 32: 11-12, that it is acceptable to play at home: “Rise up betimes, and be not the last: but get thee home without delay. There take thy pastime, and do what thou wilt”.⁴⁶ Covarrubias, in his definition of “*dado*” in the *Tesoro de la Lengua castellana o española* (1611), notes the antiquity of the game, its capacity to bring good or bad luck, that it is forbidden in all ages and all republics, though permitted to soldiers and is the entertainment of both soldiers and “*gente moza*” (servants and orderlies).⁴⁷ He repeats the refrain that with dice, the best thing is not to play it in the form “*El mejor lanze de los dados, es no jugallo*”, and warns of the dangers of trickery and robbery: “*con ser juego de tanta ventura hay quien alcance arte engañosa, para robar con los dados*”.⁴⁸

⁴³ Valdivieso, *Murillo*, p. 232.

⁴⁴ Rodrigo Caro, *Días geniales o lúdicos*, (1626), (Seville: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces, 1884).

⁴⁵ Caro, *Días geniales o lúdicos*, p. 142.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 152; Ecclesiasticus is neither in the Hebrew Bible nor the Protestant King James Bible but in *The Apocrypha* and the English translation of the text is from *The Apocrypha*, (New York/Chicago/Los Angeles: American Bible Society, 1966), p. 130.

⁴⁷ Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua castellana o española*, p. 394.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 394.

It would seem more than likely that anyone viewing this painting in the seventeenth century would be in no doubt that the two children were engaged in an illegal activity, though one that was common amongst the lower classes. It is even possible that the youngster looking out at the viewer could be acting as a look-out for the players, but this is a reading which is at odds with the pensive expression and relaxed stance of the young boy. Murillo has chosen not to include any sign of condemnation of the two boys who are merely shown as completely absorbed in their game. This is unlike the conflict between duty and pleasure more overtly presented in his painting *Invitation to a Game of Argolla* (fig. 43), the earliest documented painting by Murillo recorded in England⁴⁹. Here an errand boy is hesitating between abandoning his chore, indicated by the small jug for olive oil held in his right hand, in favour of the more pleasurable option of joining a game of *argolla*, (a form of croquet), with the smiling urchin seated on the ground who has cast his basket to one side.

Paintings of games of chance, especially cardsharps cheating innocent players, as in *The Cardsharps*, c. 1594, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth (fig. 150), by Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571-1610), were popular subjects among followers of Caravaggio, particularly in the second decade of the seventeenth century. The French artist Nicolas Tournier (1590-1639), for example, painted *Dice Players*, The National Trust, Attingham Park, about 1620-1625 (fig. 151), an image suffused with impending violence in which four partially-armed men are playing dice on a makeshift gaming table, and his compatriot, Valentin de Boulogne (1591/94-1632), depicts some shady characters cheating another out of his riches in *Soldiers Playing Cards and Dice (The Cheats)*, c. 1628-1620, National Gallery Washington (fig. 152). However, Murillo's more innocent paintings of children playing games have little in common with such Caravaggesque works which depict groups of adults, often soldiers, playing a game of cards or dice seated at tables generally in dark interior settings, partly dramatic scenes and partly moralistic lessons. Nor do they resemble humorous, moralizing, small-scale Netherlandish images of peasants gambling in inns and often fighting over a game, such as *Gamblers Quarrelling*, 1665, Detroit Institute of Art (fig. 153), by the Dutch artist Jan Steen (1626-1679), which depicts a group of buffoonish gamblers and drinkers brawling over backgammon and cards, or an earlier painting by the Flemish artist

⁴⁹ Brooke and Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, p. 126. Brooke notes that this painting and *Two Boys and a Negro Boy*, c. 1670, were likely those described by the seventeenth-century diarist, John Evelyn, as having been acquired at auction in London in 1693 by Lord Sidney Godolphin.

Adriaen Brouwer (1605-1638) of *Peasants Playing Cards in a Tavern*, 1635, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (fig. 154), or more refined versions by David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690).⁵⁰ Neither do Murillo's paintings have much in common with paintings of soldiers playing dice or cards, often using a drum as a table, by Flemish and Dutch painters many of whom lived in Rome, such as the somewhat melancholy night scene of two soldiers hunched over the throw of dice in *Soldiers Playing Dice*, c. 1656-58, Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum, Madrid, by the Flemish artist Michael Sweerts (1618 – 1664) who lived in Rome from 1646-1656 (fig. 155).

7.4 Discourses of poverty

It is important to note that although Murillo's genre paintings may give the appearance of empirical reality through their naturalistically modelled figures, this is very deceptive. Although the children are ill-kempt, dressed in ragged clothes with either dirty bare feet or dilapidated shoes, their plump, well-fed look contrasts with the usual visual signs of extreme poverty such as malnutrition, sickness and disability which are evident in Murillo's paintings of the poor as objects of mercy in his religious works such as *Saint Thomas of Villanueva distributing Alms*, c. 1665-68, or *Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, Attending the Sick*, 1667-70, and which convey the mainstream socio religious discourse of seventeenth-century Iberia. Indeed, art historians have speculated that Murillo may have used his own children as models for those in his genre paintings. They certainly bear little resemblance to the grotesque portrayals of beggars in *Les Gueux*, c. 1622 (fig. 156), a series of etchings by Jacques Callot, whose work was known to Murillo, as discussed in relation to his use of prints in chapter 4.⁵¹

Nor can they easily be accommodated within the traditional discourse of deserving and undeserving poor. Pérez de Herrera's treatise *Discursos del amparo de los legítimos pobres y reducción de los fingidos; y de la fundación y principio de los albergues destos reinos, y amparo de la milicia dellos* (1598) is notable for its vitriolic attacks on idleness and "false" beggars, considered by him to be the root cause of society's ills. In his letter to the reader at the start of the treatise, Pérez de Herrera writes about the need

⁵⁰ Murillo's patron, Nicolás Omazur owned a small genre painting by Adriaen Brouwer and another by David Teniers: see Duncan Kinkead, "The Picture Collection of Don Nicolas Omazur", *The Burlington Magazine*, (vol. 128 1986,) p. 140, nos. 88 and 89.

⁵¹ For a discussion of negative images of beggars, see Nichols, *The Art of Poverty*, pp. 49-98.

to rid Spain of false vagabonds (“*quitar de España los fingidos, falsos, engañosos, y vagabundos*”) who usurp the alms of others, transgress the good laws and customs of these realms and who provoke the wrath of God onto the whole town as a result of their sins and excesses, causing contagious infections and pernicious illnesses.⁵² The first discourse is filled with stories about the many tricks that false beggars adopt to gain alms and avoid working, such as making false ulcers, pretending to be blind and deaf, twisting the feet or hands of their newly born children. Above all, in addition to setting a bad example and taking alms which would be better shared amongst the real poor, these phony beggars are said to put everyone’s health at risk by corrupting the air with the stench and decay emanating through their breath and the sweat of their filthy bodies, by eating putrid food thrown out of houses and drinking large quantities of bad water and wine in preference to working, so that they cause typhus and plague, particularly in hot, humid places such as Seville in summer.⁵³ In the third discourse, Pérez de Herrera addresses the problem of how to care for children and orphans, especially female orphans who, lacking fathers, are in great danger in a world full of carnal sins.⁵⁴ Abandoned infants and poor children were to be distributed by prelates and the *Corregidor* among wealthy families who will take charge of them and later make use of them as servants, provided they rewarded them for their services. The rest should be placed in orphanages, *las casas de expósitos*, or lodged in the *albergues* along with the poor women until the age of seven. After this, healthy girls were to be married or placed in convents.⁵⁵ Healthy boys aged between ten and fourteen, who at present wander about lost, should be sent to ships or galleys to become sailors (greatly needed by the state) while others would be put to use in the armouries and tapestry factories which would save the king the expense of importing arms and materials from abroad.⁵⁶

Murillo’s boys, however, appear more than able to take care of themselves and certainly adept at avoiding the fate of being lodged in one of Seville’s badly run and poorly resourced orphanages or, worse still, of being sent to the galleys. In the case of *Three Boys Playing Dice*, they appear well provided with the means of feeding

⁵² Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres*, pp. 13-14. “*Usurpadores de la limosna de los otros, transgresores de las buenas leyes y costumbres de los reinos...provocadores con sus pecados y excesos de la ira de Dios contra todo el pueblo, y causa de los contagios y enfermedades perniciosas...*”

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 42-3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 83.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 103-4.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 105-6.

themselves without begging by earning small amounts of money as basket boys or as fruit sellers and this is true of all seven of Murillo's genre paintings of groups of street urchins.

Murillo's gamblers also seem far removed from the gangs of thugs described by the Jesuit, Padre Pedro de León, (1545 – 1632), in the invaluable personal record of his work as a preacher/missionary in Andalucía and as chaplain in the Royal Prison of Seville between the years of 1578 and 1616. In chapter three, there is a characteristically vivid description of Seville's thugs and gangs: "*muchos hombres desalmados, delincuentes, inquietos, valentes, valentones, bravotines, espadachines y matadores y forajidos*" who appeared to be beyond the reach of the city's justices.⁵⁷ He describes bloody fights in *los apedreaderos* every feast day and Sundays which were marked by murders and casualties, and records how people would rush out to the gates of "Marchena" and Cordoba and to the walls as if they were going to see jousts and tournaments.⁵⁸ Gang wars continued in spite of the efforts by the Governor, Francisco Zapata, Conde de Barajas, and his sheriffs, to tackle such fights, such was the strength of these barbarous, indomitable and irrational people.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, Pedro de León asserts that the great power of God was able to prevail against them and describes how, on the day of Santa Cruz in May, he and some honourable penitents marched to the field of battle with the standard of Christ, and persuaded the two sides to give up their slings, knives, skewers, small shields and other warlike instruments which were collected at the foot of the cross: "*hondas, terciadillos, cuchillejos, asadorsillos, broquelejos, tapadorsillos de tinajas, y otros instrumentos bélicos...más duras y crueles de lo que se puede imaginar*".⁶⁰ All singing the Christian doctrine, they came to his college, praising the Lord, for: "they marvelled, and glorified God, which had given such power unto men" [Matthew, 9:8]⁶¹

Nor do these youngsters appear to have been much affected by the great purging of people through enlistment, plague and violent death in the previous twenty years: "*la grande saca de gente por levas, pestes y muertes violentas, con lo cual ha purgado la multitud de gente*", described by the arbitrista and mercantilist writer, Martinez de Mata

⁵⁷ Pedro de León, *Grandeza y Miseria*, p. 29.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, pp 29-30.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 30.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 32-4.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 35.

in his near contemporaneous text *Memorial en razón del remedio de la despoblación, pobreza y esterilidad de España* written between 1650 and 1660 in Seville.⁶² They do not suffer the fate of the legitimate native poor people who have alms taken away from them by the foreigners so hated by Mata, especially the French.⁶³

Neither would they have been helped by the protectionist laws and network of Royal Banks to encourage economic development which Mata proposes would enable Spain to become great again.⁶⁴ However, he would undoubtedly have considered them idle, poor and unable to contribute taxes and therefore at risk of rioting: “*Por lo cual están pobres y se hallan sin fuerzas para poder ayudar a la hacienda Real, con riesgos de tumultos*”, part of the steep decline of a productive population and the ruin of agriculture, manufacture and commerce in Spain which resulted from the impact of foreign imports.⁶⁵

7.5 “A selective fictitious construct”

I would argue that, while *Three Boys Playing Dice* is a painting that is sympathetic to the plight of impoverished youngsters in Seville and includes details of everyday social life, it was a synthesis of fact and invention and its primary function was to give aesthetic pleasure to the viewer and knowledgeable collector, who was most probably from Northern Europe, though there appears to have been a small market for this type of work in Madrid⁶⁶. Murillo’s painting, as Wayne E. Franits observed of Dutch art in the Golden Age, is “a selective fictitious construct” which was forged by an artist “in

⁶² Martínez de Mata, *Memoriales y discursos*, p. 337.

⁶³ *Ibid*, VII, p. 166: “*Se han alzado con la limosna de los naturales pobres, que por lisiados, o vejez, no pueden adquirir para sustentarse, y los haraganes, vagabundos de Francia y otros Reinos, como no los consienten en sus naturalezas, andan en España, como en país común, que tiene escala franca, robando la limosna a los naturales y legítimos pobres, sin que nadie les pida cuenta de su modo de vivir, contra las leyes, que ordenan que los naturales que fueren holgazanes sean excluidos, como enemigos de la República.*”

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, VIII, pp. 75-7; 231-3; 107.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, VI, 14, p. 146.

⁶⁶ See notes attached to the painting of *Two Boys Playing Dice* in Brooke and Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, p. 122, which describe a small canvas by Murillo of children playing games valued at 400 reales and two larger copies listed in the 1707 inventory of the Madrid doctor Tomás Fernández; see also Angulo, *Murillo*, vol. II, p. 301.

response to pictorial traditions, to personal aesthetic interests and even to demands of the market".⁶⁷

The boys represented in the painting are essentially being offered as objects for the viewer's contemplation and enjoyment rather than as individual subjects worthy of self-representation. However, the painting also demonstrates the power of art to elevate even the humblest person as a fit subject for a work of art and to unwittingly immortalize the subject. While the children's shirts and breeches may be contemporary, the artist converts their tattered clothing into graceful swathes of drapery and, as Peter Cherry noted, this enables Murillo to reprise the appealing interaction of nude and clothed parts of the body usually associated with history painting and the statues of classical antiquity.⁶⁸ This stratagem is common to his later genre paintings such as Murillo's other painting of the same topic, *Two Boys Playing Dice*, now in Vienna (fig. 145), and is particularly pronounced in the two small head-and-shoulder portrait-like paintings of a young smiling boy, *Smiling Boy Leaning on a Sill*, c. 1675, The National Gallery, London, and *Young Girl Lifting her Shawl*, c. 1670-1675, private collection (figs. 143 and 144). In the case of the former, the boy's shirt is attractively draped in folds around his shoulder mimicking classical drapery and was altered to reveal more of his chest and the virtuoso foreshortening of the shoulder area.⁶⁹

In *Three Boys Playing Dice*, as in many of his other genre pictures, Murillo has included an attractive still-life vignette of a basket filled with skilfully painted fruit and a piece of pottery positioned prominently in the painting's foreground to catch the eye of the beholder. Their presence signals to the viewer that the children are not beggars but rather children who survive through skilfully negotiating menial tasks. The type of basket and jar varies from painting to painting, but they are both present in his very first genre painting, *Urchin Hunting Fleas*, and in all of seven of his depictions of groupings of two or three street urchins. These are reminiscent of the collections of everyday utensils prominently displayed in the foreground of Netherlandish genre paintings and of the large pitchers in the foreground of Murillo's *The Marriage Feast at Cana*, but they also function as indicators of status and role and thus help in establishing the social identity manifested by the paintings' subjects. The jug in *Three Boys Playing Dice*,

⁶⁷ Wayne E. Franits, *Paragons of Virtue: Women and Domesticity in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 13-14.

⁶⁸ Brooke and Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, p. 26.

⁶⁹ Brooke and Cherry, *Scenes of Childhood*, p. 26.

however, has a broken lip, possibly pointing to the fleeting nature of life, as possibly does the half-ruined building draped with ivy in the background of the painting.

In *Three Boys Playing Dice*, Murillo's great compositional skill draws the eye of the viewer up from the heads of the two dice players to the child eating bread whose pensive stare arrests the spectator then directs attention down towards the basket of fruit and over to the game of dice framed by the players' hands. Thus, the young boy acts as a mediator between the spectator and the scene unfolding between the dice players, disrupting the unified world of the painting and intensifying the spectator's consciousness of the act of viewing. However, the boy's unwavering look also seems to indicate that he is scrutinising the person viewing the scene, thus upending the normal relationship obtaining between viewer and viewed, in this case a young boy set very far apart from the adult male spectator in terms of age and social position, a challenging situation for any wealthy person standing in front of the painting. This look has little in common with the smiling, rustic simpletons who look directly out at the spectator, inviting you into the scene, as discussed in chapter 5 on the *Adoration of the Shepherds*.

Murillo's great ability to portray the spontaneity and vitality of children is clear from the subtle manner in which he skilfully and accurately captures the emotional expressions of the players as they tally up the score on their fingers, one displaying delight in his belief that he has won the throw while the other shows signs of disbelief and disappointment (fig. 157). This is in contrast to the expressions of the two boys playing dice in Murillo's other painting of the subject, *Two Boys Playing Dice*, now in Vienna and also thought to have been painted in the 1670s (fig. 145). In this instance, Murillo uses the psychological nuances of the boys' expressions and poses to demonstrate to the viewer that they are in the middle of an argument about who has won the game. Instead of the pair's intense absorption in the fall of the dice as in the Munich version, here each player directs his look at the other, one boy's obdurate expression, posture and outstretched hand signalling that he expects payment from the other, while his companion's questioning expression and the gesture of his finger pointing down at the dice suggest his rejection of this conclusion. Although these paintings may appear at first sight to be faithful renditions of scenes of poverty in everyday life, they are in fact carefully composed scenes with nuanced portraits of distinctive individuals, which showcase Murillo's abilities as an artist and give pleasure to the spectator.

As was noted in chapter 4 on the nature of the image, Vincente Carducho in his treaty on painting published in Madrid in 1633, *Diálogos de la Pintura. Su defensa, origen, esencia, definición, modos y diferencias*, vehemently denounces the making of portraits of people of low class and the popularity of bodegones with slovenly picares and dirty little women “and those artists that have known so little or have had so little regard as to debase generous Art to lowly ideas, as today can be seen in so many genre paintings [*cuadros de bodegones*] with loose and extremely base subjects”.⁷⁰ *Bodegones* occupy an intermediate point between still life and portraiture, described by Pacheco as a kind of still life “with different food and drinks” and paintings of “ridiculous figures with various and ugly subjects to provoke laughter” though he adds that “All these things, made with valour and in the good manner, may be entertaining and demonstrate liveliness and ingenuity in composition”.⁷¹ Carducho believed that portraiture should be limited to those who had accomplished great things worthy of imitation which is similar to the definition of ‘*retrato*’ in Covarrubias’ *Tesoro de la Lengua castellana*: “*La figura contrahecha de alguna persona principal y de cuenta, cuya efigie y semejanza es justo quede por memoria a los siglos venideros*”.⁷² However, as noted in the previous chapter, Pacheco, Velázquez’s father-in-law, defends *bodegones* in Book III of his treatise on painting, *El Arte de la Pintura*, stating that since the painting of *bodegones* also involves the painting of figures, *ingenio* is required and they can also bring the artist great praise: “Well, then, are *bodegones* unworthy of esteem? It is very clear that indeed they should be praised if they are painted as my son-in-law paints them, achieving such superiority in this that no place is left for others”.⁷³ As was noted previously, skill in drawing, *ingenio* and invention were categories normally linked to history painting but Pacheco considers that a large percentage of *ingenio* and invention are needed to paint a good portrait, while *ingenio* was also required for *bodegones*.⁷⁴ For Pacheco, the figures must imitate nature artfully, be well drawn, possess good colouring, seem to be alive and be equal to other things copied from nature in the same

⁷⁰ Vincente Carducho, *Diálogos de la Pintura*. 2nd ed. de Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil, (Madrid: Manuel Galiano, 1865), (1633), p. 253; trans. in Brooke and Cherry, *Murillo: Scenes of Childhood*, p. 15.

⁷¹ Veliz, p. 97.

⁷² Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua castellana o española*, p. 864.

⁷³ Zahira Veliz, ed. and trans., *Artists' Techniques in Golden Age Spain: six treatises in translation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 97.

⁷⁴ Karin Hellwig, *La literatura Artística española*, pp. 268-9.

composition, all qualities which certainly apply to Murillo's genre paintings in general and *Three Boys Playing Dice* in particular.⁷⁵

Murillo's genre paintings were classified as *bodegones* since at that point in time, the poor were excluded from portraiture. *Three Boys Playing Dice* and Murillo's other genre paintings depict things and people traditionally lacking in importance in Spanish society and in Spanish painting, as opposed to those things in the world which were considered great: the legends of the gods, the battles of heroes, the crises of history.⁷⁶ However, though they are not portraits in so far as they were neither commissioned nor owned by the person 'represented', and show people without importance in society, the paintings do mark the emergence of a portraiture of the poor, where, ultimately, the poor person will be a deserved sitter and will be portrayed for posterity.⁷⁷ Murillo's urchins are not the "little Gods of the street", who are content and serenely doing nothing, as described by the French art historian, Jacques Rancière, but rather secular representations of ordinary people and objects made visible by the artist in an era where the equality of subjects was not yet recognised.⁷⁸ The art historian Norman Bryson noted that "rhopography" – the depiction of "the unassuming material base of life" – reverses "the scale of values in which what is unique and powerful in the world is the pre-ordained object of the gaze, while that which lacks importance is overlooked" and, instead, attends to the world ignored by the human impulse to create greatness.⁷⁹ These paintings bring into focus the everyday world of people and things traditionally ignored, forcing the painter and the viewer to pay close attention to the familiar which normally eludes attention: in this case, the street children who would have swarmed the thoroughfares of Seville at this period, and as a result, what is held to be worthless becomes priceless.

⁷⁵ Veliz, p. 97.

⁷⁶ This is the distinction between 'rhopography' and 'megalography' coined by the art historian Norman Bryson in his examination of still life painting: Norman Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still Life Painting*, (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), p. 61.

⁷⁷ I am grateful to Carmen Fracchia for this observation.

⁷⁸ Jacques Rancière, *Aisthesis: Scenes from the Aesthetic Regime of Art*, trans. Zakir Paul, (London & New York: Verso, 2013), p. 21.

⁷⁹ Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked*, pp. 61 & 63.

Conclusion

Murillo painted his images of poor people during a period of great upheavals in Imperial Spain and decline in the city of Seville. There is, however, no sign of the “gruesomeness, violence, and cruelty so evident in baroque art... rooted in that pessimistic conception of the human being and of the world and which they in turn reinforced” described by José Antonio Maravall in his book on the culture of the baroque.¹ Rather, his religious paintings reflect a desire to reflect, preserve and strengthen the existing social order.

Stuart Woolf, in an essay on order, class and the urban poor in Europe since 1500, noted that “charity can be defined as the institutionalisation of the social construct of poverty.”² The paintings relating to charity which were produced by Murillo during the seventeenth century are intrinsically embedded in religious discourses and would appear to reflect the institutionalisation of the Council of Trent’s view of charity. As can be seen from the paintings discussed in chapters 5 and 6, Murillo excelled in providing the elites of Seville with works which reinforced the contemporary Catholic Counter-Reformation avowal of the spiritual benefits of good works and the need to perform charitable acts to achieve salvation, formulated as a rebuttal of the protestant concept of predestination.

As Murillo’s career advanced, his charitable paintings became peopled with the standard prototypes of the legitimate poor of the discourses: the elderly, women with children and the disabled. Although these poor types are painted with a great deal of attention to naturalistic detail and seem to have been inspired by the recollection of actual people, as Maravall has noted: “What the baroque offers us never remains a pure and simple realism.”³ It is likely that the destitute in these paintings would have been viewed by those who commissioned them as objects of mercy and passive agents of a pious spiritual action. The working poor, and Saint Joseph himself, also appear to be

¹ José Antonio Maravall, *The Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans. by Terry Cochran, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), p. 162.

² Stuart Woolf, “Order, class and the urban poor”, in M. L. Bush, ed., *Social Orders & Social Classes in Europe Since 1500: Studies in social stratification*, (London: Longman, 1992), pp 193.

³ Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, p. 257.

lauded examples of industry and a reminder that the solution to poverty in the treatises and *arbitrios* of this era was held to be work.

Given my analysis of Murillo's representations of the poor in three paintings typical of his religious output – *Adoration of the Shepherds*, *Saint Thomas of Villanueva Distributing Alms* and *Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, Attending the Sick* – I can affirm that these images created by Murillo serve to reinforce contemporary perceptions of the poor. The example of *Saint Thomas of Villanueva Distributing Alms* conforms to the discourses about the poor to be found in the writings of Miguel de Mañara and Seville sermons, where the emphasis is on dispensing alms as a vehicle for the salvation of the rich and including the poor within society, rather than setting forth a sympathetic view of their plight, although Murillo's artistry is such that he manages to do both. By setting the figure of the saint against the backdrop of the cathedral, Murillo also highlights the important role of religion in tending to the needy, a role vividly described by the Jesuit, Padre de León, who operated as a missionary amongst the most deprived people of Andalucía. Murillo, through the selection of poor people presented in his painting, has also reflected the dominant theme in sixteenth century discourses about the need to help only those considered to be truly poor in the various discourses. *Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, Attending the Sick* similarly underscores the message of the importance of acts of mercy for the rich, while at the same time upholding the hospital as a vital part of the networks for assisting the poor in Seville, which chimed with Miguel de Mañara's decision to expand the role of the Hermandad de la Caridad by building a new hospital to rescue the incurable sick from the streets of Seville. The example of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* extends my analysis of the poor in Murillo's religious paintings to incorporate them as constructive examples of the dominant view of the importance of work outlined in the treatises and reinforced in the writings of the *arbitristas*, Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera and Francisco Martínez de Mata. Here the shepherds, whilst functioning as emblems of humanity in the religious story of the birth of Christ, are also being presented in Murillo's painting as positive examples of the working poor who obediently accept their poverty with humility in a period of profound social crisis.

Although religious images and history painting were considered the most esteemed category of painting, with sacred images according to Pacheco "the most illustrious and majestic part [of painting] and that which gives it greater glory", throughout his career,

Murillo also produced genre paintings of poor people, mostly street children, which seem to reflect a more ambiguous approach to the subject.⁴ While they do not fall easily into Mata's despised category of those who were idle (a pernicious vice), poor and unable to contribute taxes, nor do they fit easily into a construction of them as representations of holy innocents or the sacred poor. Their assigned place at the bottom of the social hierarchy, a scale that was conceptually considered to be natural, is signalled by their dress, the inclusion of the tools of their trade as errand boys and their placement outside amongst the ruined buildings of Seville, in contrast to *bodegones* of the period which depicted the poor inside buildings linked with the preparation and consumption of food. *Bodegones* occupied an intermediate point between still life and portraiture, but Pacheco thought that "All these things, made with valour and in the good manner may be entertaining and demonstrate liveliness and ingenuity in composition".⁵ In the case of Murillo's *Three Boys Playing Dice*, the real individuality of the boys is derived from the psychological complexity of their portrayal as social beings absorbed in their game or seemingly reacting to the presence of the viewer, far removed from the role of *sanctus pauper*. Although the painting may appear at first sight to be a somewhat idealised scene of deprived children involved in a game of chance, it is in fact a carefully composed scene with nuanced portraits of distinctive individuals, which I have speculated was produced by Murillo with northern clients in mind and which mark the beginning of a new manner not resigned to imitation, a portraiture of the poor.

⁴ Pacheco, *El Arte de la Pintura*, I, p. 204, trans in Brown, *Images and Ideas*, p. 57.

⁵ Veliz, p. 97.

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M.R.P.M. (...) por Juan Pérez Berlanga (...), Sevilla, 1696, [Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla, Est. 112, no. 61, trat. 4].

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